Acton. d. 23. 1653.

SOME

LETTERS

Containing

ACCOUNT

Of what seemed most Remarkable in *Switzerland*, *Italy*, &c.

Written by

G. *BURNET*, D. D. to T. H. R. B.

To which is annexed his Answer to Mr. *Varillas*.

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THE FIRST LETTER.

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Zurich, the first of *September*, 1685.

SIR,

IT is so common to write Travels, that for one who has seen so little, and as it were in haste, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among Voyagers, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a Ramble, and concerning places so much visited, and by consequence so well known: yet having had Opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that Travel, and having joined to those a Curiosity almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ingrateful entertainment if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed: But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary Books, for which I refer you to the Prints; for as you know that I have no great inclination to copie what others have said, so a Traveller has not leisure nor humour enough for so dull an Employment.

As I came all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared, not only in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the marks of an extream Poverty,

ſhewed themſelves both in the Building, the Clothes, and almoſt in the Looks of the Inhabitants. And a general diſpeopling in all the Towns, was a very viſible Effect of the Hardſhips under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent ſituation of *Lions*, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from ſo vaſt a height for a Priſon, of the *Carthuſians* Gardens, of the Town-houſe, of the Jeſuits Colledge and Library, of the famous Nunnery of S. *Peter*, of the Churches, particularly S. *Irenee's*, of the remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns and the old Moſaick in the Abbey *Dene*. In ſhort, Mr. *Spon* has given ſuch an Account of the Curioſities there, that it were a very preſumptuous Attempt to offer to come after him.

The Speech of *Claudius* ingraven on a Plate of Braſs, and ſet in the end of the low Walk in the Town-houſe, is one of the nobleſt Antiquities in the World, by which we ſee the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiouſly. The ſhield of Silver of 22 pound weight, in which ſome remains of gilding do yet appear, and that ſeems to repreſent that generous action of *Scipio's*, of reſtoring a fair Captive to a *Celtiberian Prince*, is certainly the nobleſt piece of Plate that is now extant, the emboſſing of it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an Inſcription upon it to put us beyond conjecture, it were yet much more ineſtimable.

A great many Inſcriptions are to be ſeen of the late and Barbarous ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and

and *Epitaphium hunc*, there are 23. Inſcriptions in the Garden of the *Fathers of mercy*, but ſo placed as it ſhews how little thoſe who poſſeſs them do either underſtand or value them. I ſhall only give you one, becauſe I made a little reflection on it, tho it is not perhaps too well grounded, becauſe none of the Criticks have thought on it.

The Inſcription is this, *D. M. Et Memoriae AEternae Sutiae Anthidis, Quae vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quae dum Nimia pia fuit, facta eſt impia: & Attio Probatiolo, Cecalius Caliſtio Conjux & Pater, & ſibi vivo ponendum curavit & ſub aſcia dedicavit.* This muſt be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the falſe Latine in *Nimia*: But the Inſcription ſeems ſo extravagant, that a man dedicating a Burial-ſtone for his Wife and Son, and under which himſelf was to be laid, with Ceremonies of Religion, ſhould tax his Wife of impiety, and give ſo extraordinary an account of her becoming ſo throw an exceſs of piety, that it deſerves ſome conſideration.

It ſeems the impiety was publick, otherwiſe a Husband would not have recorded it in ſuch a manner, and it is plain that he thought it roſe from an exceſs of piety.

I need not examine the Conjectures of others, but will chuſe rather to give you my own, and ſubmit it to your cenſure.

It ſeems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a Chriſtian, for the Chriſtians, becauſe they would not worſhip the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their ſacred Rites, were accuſed both of Atheiſm and Impiety. This is ſo

often objected, and the Fathers in their Apologies have anſwered it ſo often, that it were loſt labour to prove it: ſo this Wife of *Cerealius Caliſtio* having turned *Chriſtian*, it ſeems he thought he was bound to take ſome notice of it in the Inſcription: But by it he gives a honourable Character of the Chriſtian Doctrine at the ſame time that he ſeems to accuſe it; that through an exceſs of Piety his Wife was carried to it: ſince a mind ſeriouſly poſſeſſed with a true ſenſe of Piety could not avoid the falling under a diſtaſte of Paganiſme, and the becoming Chriſtian.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be ſeen, the Learned Mr. *Chorier* has ſome Manuſcripts of conſiderable antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a paſſage that in all the printed Editions is not ſenſe. In the chapter of the liſe of the Souldiers he begins: *Scio ſemper menſuram a Mario Conſule exactam*: *a* is in no *MS.* and *Mario Conſule* is a miſtake for *trium Cubitorum*, for III which are for *trium* have been read *M.* and *C.* which ſtands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a miſtake read *Conſule*; ſo the true reading of that paſſage is: *Scio menſuram trium Cubitorum fuiſſe ſemper exactam.* He ſhewed me another *M.S.* of about 5 or 6 hundred years old, in which S. *John*'s Revelation is contained all exemplified in Figures, and after that come *Eſop*'s Fables, likewiſe all deſigned in Figures, from which he inferred that thoſe who deſigned thoſe two Books, valued both equally, and ſo put them together.

I will not deſcribe the Valley of *Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a Land-

Landſchape of the *Country*, which deſerves a better Pencil than mine, and in which the height, and rudeneſs of the Mountains that almoſt ſhut upon it, together with the beauty, the evenneſs and fruitfulneſs of the Valley, that is all along well watered with the River of *Liſerre*, make ſuch an agreable mixture, that this vaſt diverſity of Objects that do at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining Proſpect.

Chambery, has nothing in it that deſerves a long Deſcription, and *Geneva* is too well known to be much inſiſted on. It is a little State, but it has ſo many good *Conſtitutions* in it, that the greateſt may juſtly learn at it. The Chamber of the Corn has always two years Proviſion for the City in ſtore, and forces none but the Bakers to buy of it at a taxed price, and ſo it is both neceſſary for any Extremities, under which the State may fall, and is likewiſe of great Advantage, for it gives a good yearly Income, that has helpt the State to pay near a Million of Debt contracted during the Wars, and the Citizens are not oppreſs'd by it, for every Inhabitant may buy his own Corn as he pleaſes, only *Publick Houſes* muſt buy from the Chamber. And if one will compare the Faith of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular, he will be forced to prefer the latter, for if *Good Works* are a ſtrong preſumption, if not a ſure indication of a *Good Faith*, then Juſtice, being a *Good Work* of the firſt Form, *Geneva* will certainly carry it.

At *Rome* the Pope buys in all the Corn of the Patrimony, for none of the Landlords can ſell it either to Merchants or Bakers. He buys it at 5 Crowns

Crowns their Meaſure, and even that is ſlowly and ill payed, ſo that there was 800000 Crowns owing upon that ſcore when I was at *Rome.* In ſelling this out, the Meaſure is *leſſened* a fifth part, and the Price of the whole is doubled, ſo that what was bought in at five Crowns, is ſold out at twelve: and if the Bakers, who are obliged to take a determined quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail out all that is impoſed upon them, but are forced to return ſome part of it back, the Chamber diſcounts to them only the firſt price of five Crowns: whereas in *Geneva* the Meaſure by which they buy and ſell is the ſame, and the gain is ſo inconſiderable, that it is very little beyond the common Market-Price, ſo that upon the whole matter the Chamber of the Corn is but the *Merchant* to the State. But if the Publick makes a moderate gain by the Corn, that and all the other Revenues of this ſmall Commonwealth are ſo well imployed, *that there is no cauſe* of Complaint given in the adminiſtration of the Publick Purſe: which with the Advantages that ariſe out of the Chamber of the Corn, is about 100000. Crowns Revenue. But there is much to go out of this: 300 Souldiers are payed, an *Arſenal* is maintained, that, in proportion to the *State*, is the greateſt in the world, for it contains Arms for more men than are in the *State*: There is a great number of Miniſters and Profeſſers (in all 24) payed out of it, beſides all the *Publick Charges* and Offices of the Government. Every one of the leſſer Council of 25. having a 100 Crowns, and every Syndic having 200 Crowns Penſion: and after all this come the Accidental Charges of the

Deputies

Deputies, that they are obliged to ſend often to *Paris*, to *Savoy*, and to *Switzerland*, ſo that it is very apparent no man can Enrich himſelf at the Coſt of the Publick. And the Appointments of the little Council are a very ſmall Recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly 4 or 5 hours a day. The ſalary for the Profeſſors and Miniſters is indeed ſmall, not above 200 Crowns, but to ballance this, which was a more *Competent Proviſion* when it was firſt ſet off 150 years ago, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightned, thoſe Employments are here held in their due reputation, and the richeſt Citizens in the town breed up their *Children* ſo as to qualifie them for thoſe Places. And a Miniſter that is ſuteable to his Character is thought ſo good a match, that generally they have ſuch Eſtates either by ſucceſſion or marriage as ſupport them ſuitably to the rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is ſo great a Regulation upon Expences of all ſorts, that a ſmall ſum goes a great way. It is a ſurpriſing thing to ſee ſo much learning as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among thoſe whoſe profeſſion obliges them to ſtudy, but among the Magiſtrates and Citizens, and if there are not many of the *firſt form of Learning* among them, yet every body almoſt here has a good *tincture* of a *Learned Education*, inſomuch that they are Maſters of the Latin, they know the Controverſies of Religion and Hiſtory, and they are generally men of good ſenſe.

There is an univerſal Civilitie, not only towards ſtrangers, but towards one another, that

reigns all the Town over, and leans to an exceſs: ſo that in them one ſees a mixture of a *French* openneſs, and an *Italian* exactneſs: there is indeed a little too much of the laſt.

The publick Juſtice of the City is quick and good, and is more commended than the private Juſtice of thoſe that deal in Trade: a want of ſincerity is much lamented by thoſe that know the Town well. There is no publick leudneſs tollerated, and the diſorders of that ſort are managed with great addreſs. And notwithſtanding their neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very little known among them. One of the beſt parts of their Law is the way of ſelling Eſtates, which is likewiſe practiſed in *Switſerland*, and is called *Subhaſtation*, from the *Roman Cuſtom* of ſelling *Sub haſta*. A man that is to buy an Eſtate agrees with the Owner, and then intimates it to the Government; who order *Three ſeveral Proclamations* to be made *ſix weeks* one after another, of *the intended Sale*, that is to be on ſuch a day: when the day comes, the Creditors of the Seller, if they apprehend that the Eſtate is ſold at an under-value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpoſe, the Buyer delivers the mony to the State, which upon that gives him his Title to the Eſtate, which can never be ſo much as brought under *a debate in Law*, and the price is paid in to the State, and is by them given either to the Debitors of the Seller, if he owes money, or to the Seller himſelf.

This Cuſtom prevails likewiſe in *Swiſſe*, where alſo twelve years poſſeſſion gives a Preſcription, ſo that in no place of the world are the

the titles to Eſtates ſo ſecure as here. The Conſtitution of the Government is the ſame both in *Geneva*, and in moſt of the Cantons. The Soverainty lies in the Council of 200, and this Council chuſes out of its number 25. who are the leſſer Council; and the Cenſure of the 25 belongs to the great Council, they are choſen by a ſort of Ballot, ſo that it is not known for whom they give their Votes, which is an effectual method to ſuppreſs Factions and Reſentments; ſince in a Competition no man can know who voted for him or againſt him: yet the *Election* is not ſo carried, but that the whole Town is in an intrigue concerning it: for ſince the being of the little Council leads one to the Sindicat, which is the Chief Honour of the State: this Dignity is courted here, with as active and ſollicitous an ambition as appears elſewhere for greater matters. The 200 are choſen and cenſured by the 25. ſo that theſe two Councils, which are but for life, are checks one upon another. The Magiſtracy is in the one, and the Soverainty in the other. The number of 25 is never exceeded in the leſſer Council, but for the greater, tho' it paſſes by the name of the Council of 200, yet there are commonly 8 or 10 more, ſo that notwithſtanding the abſence or ſickneſs of ſome of the number, they may ſtill be able to call together near the full number. There is another Council beſides theſe two, compoſed of 60. conſiſting of thoſe of the 200. that have born Offices ſuch as Auditors, Attorney-Generals, or thoſe that have been in other Employments, which are given for a determinate nnmber of years: This Court has no Authority, but is called together by the

the 25, when any extraordinary occaſion makes it adviſable for them to call for a more General Concurrence, in the Reſolutions that they are about to form. And this Council is of the nature of a Council of State that only gives advice, but has no power in it ſelf to enforce its advices. The whole Body of the Burgeſſes chuſe the Sindics the firſt Sunday of the year, and there are ſome other Elections that do likewiſe belong to them. The difference between the Burgeſſes and Citizens is, that the former Degree may be bought or given to Strangers, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a Citizen but he that is the Son of a Burgeſs, and that is born within the Town.

I need ſay no more of the Conſtitution of this little Republick, its chief ſupport is in the firm *alliance* that has ſtood now ſo long between it and the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is ſo viſibly the intereſt of all *Switzerland* to preſerve it as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the Cantons had not forgotten their Intereſt ſo palpably in ſuffering the *French* to become Maſters of the *Franche Counté*, one would think that they would not be capable of ſuffering *Geneva* to be toucht: for all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can ſignifie no more, but to put it in caſe to reſiſt a ſurpriſe or ſcalade: ſince if a *Royal Army* comes againſt it to beſiege it in form, it is certain, that unleſs the *Switzers* come down with a force able to raiſe the Siege, thoſe within will be able to make a very ſhort Reſiſtance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Country of *Vaud* or the Valley, and *Lauſanne* its chief Town

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in my way to *Bern*. The Town of *Lauſanne* is ſituated on three Hills, ſo that the whole Town is aſcent and deſcent, & that very ſteep, chiefly on the ſide on which the Church ſtands, which is a very noble Fabrick. The South-wall of the Croſs was ſo ſplit by an Earthquake about 30 years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot wide: Which was ſo cloſed up ten years after by another Earthquake, that now one only ſees where the breach was. This extravagant ſituation of the Town was occaſion'd by a Legend of ſome Miracles wrought near the Church: which prevailed ſo much of the Credulity of that Age, that by it the Church, and ſo in conſequence the Buildings near it were added to the old Town, which ſtood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the high-way from the Lake into *Switzerland*, to which the Chief Priviledges of the Town, particularly the *Judicature* of *life* & *death* do ſtill belong. Between *Geneva* and this lies the Lake which at the one end is called the Lake of *Geneva*, and at the other the Lake of *Lauſanne*. I need not mention the dimenſions of it which are ſo well known, only in ſome places the depth has ne're been found, for it is more than 500 fathom, the banks of the Lake are the beautifulleſt plots of ground that can be imagined, for they look as if they had been laid by Art, the ſloping is ſo eaſie and ſo equal, and the grounds are ſo well cultivated and peopled, that a more delightful proſpect cannot be ſeen any where: the Lake is well ſtockt with excellent Fiſh: But their numbers do ſenſibly decreaſe, and one ſort is quite loſt, it is not only to be aſcrib'd to the ravenouſneſs of the Pikes

Pikes that abound in it: but to another ſort of Fiſh that they call *Montails* which were never taken in the Lake till within theſe ſix years laſt paſt, they are in the Lake of *Neuf-chaſtel*, and ſome of the other Lakes of *Switzerland*, and it is likely that by ſome conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this Lake: The Water of the Lake is all clear and freſh. It is not only a great Pond made by the *Rhoſne* that runs into it, but does not paſs through it unmixt as ſome *Travellers* have fondly imagined, becauſe ſometimes a ſoft gale makes a *curling* of the Waters in ſome places, which runs *ſmooth* in the places over which that ſoft breath of Wind does not paſs, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed that there are alſo many great *Fountains* all over the Lake, theſe Springs do very probably flow from ſome vaſt Cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Ciſterns that diſcharge themſelves in the Valleys which are covered over with Lakes. And on the two ſides of the *Alpes* both North and South, there is ſo great a number of thoſe *little Seas*, that it may be eaſily gueſſed they muſt have *vaſt Sources* that feed ſo conſtantly thoſe *Huge Ponds*. And when one conſiders the *height* of thoſe Hills, the *chain* of ſo many of them together, & their *extent* both in length and breadth; If at firſt he *thinks* of the old Fables of *laying one Hill upon the top of another*, he will be afterwards apt to imagine according to the ingenious conjecture of one that travelled over them oftner than once, *That theſe cannot be the primary Productions of the Author of Nature: But are the vaſt Ruines of the firſt World,*

World, which at the Deluge broke here into ſo many inequalities.

One Hill not far from *Geneva*, called *Maudit*, or Curſed, of which one third is always covered with *Snow*, is 2 *Miles* of perpendicular height, according to the Obſervation of that incomparable *Mathematician* and *Philoſopher*, *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who at 22 years of age is already one of the greateſt men of his Age, and ſeems to be born to carry Learning ſome *Siſes* beyond what it has yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with the *State* of *Bern*, for that *Canton* alone is above a 3d part of all *Switzerland*. I will ſay nothing of its *Beginning* nor *Hiſtory*: nor will I inlarge upon the *Conſtitutions* which are all well known. It has a *Council* of 200 that goes by that *Name*, tho it conſiſts almoſt of 300, and another of 25 as *Geneva*. The chief *Magiſtrates* are *two Advoyers*, who are not *annual* as the *Sindics* of *Geneva*, but are for *life*; and have an Authority not unlike that of the *Roman Conſuls*: each being his year by turns *the Advoyer in Office*. After them there are the 4 Bannerets, who anſwer to the *Tribunes of the People* in *Rome*; then come the two Burſars or Treaſurers, one for the ancient *German Territory*, the other for the *French Territory*, or the Countrey of *Vaud*, and the two laſt choſen of the 25 are called *The Secrets*; for to them all Secrets relating to the State are diſcovered: and they have an Authority of calling the 200 together when they think fit, and of accuſing thoſe of the Magiſtracy, the Advoyers themſelves not excepted, as they ſee cauſe: tho this falls out ſeldom.

There

There are 72 *Bailiages* into which the whole Canton of *Bern* is divided, & in every one of those there is a Bailif named by the Council of 200, who must be a Citizen of *Bern* and one of the 200, to which Council no man can be chosen till he is married: these *Bailiages* are Employments both of Honor and Profit: for the Bailif is the Governour and Judge in that Jurisdiction: since tho he has some Assessors who are chosen out of the *Bailiage*, yet he may by his Authority carry matters which way he will, against all their Opinions, & the Bailifs have all the *Confiscations* &, *Fines* so that drinking being so common in that Country, and that producing many Quarrels, the Bailif makes his advantage of all those disorders: and in the 6 years of his Government, according to the quality of his *Bailiage*, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000 Crowns with him back to *Bern*: on which he lives till he can carry another *Bailiage*: for one is capable of being twice Bailif, but tho some have been thrice Bailifs, this is very extraordinary. The exactions of the Bailif are the only Impositions or Charges to which the Inhabitants are subjected, and these falling only on the Irregularities and disorders of the more debauched, makes that this Grievance tho in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt: for a sober and regular man is in no danger. Many in this Canton are, as in *England*, Lords of Castles or Mannors, and have a Jurisdiction annexed to their Estates, and name their Magistrate who is called the *Castellan*. In matters of small consequence there lies no Appeal from him to the Bailif, but beyond the value of two Pistols

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an Appeal lies, and no ſentence of death is executed till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies alſo an Appeal from the Bailif to the Coun cil at *Bern*. There are many *Complaints* of the Injuſtice of the Bailifs: but their Law is ſhort and clear, ſo that a ſuit is ſoon ended, two or three Hearings is the moſt that even an *intricate* ſuit amounts to, either in the firſt inſtance before the Bailif, or in the ſecond Judgment at *Bern*. The Citizens of *Bern* conſider theſe Bailiages as their Inheritance, and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much Intrigue as was ever uſed among the *Romans* in the diſtribution of their Provinces: and ſo little ſignifie the beſt Regulations, when there are intrinſick Diſeaſes in a State, that tho there is all poſſible precaution uſed in the nomination of theſe Bailifs, yet that has not preſerved this State from falling under ſo great a miſchief by thoſe little Provinces; that as it has already in a great meaſure corrupted their Morals, ſo it may likely turn in concluſion to the ruine of this Republick: all the *Electors* give their Voices by *Ballot*, ſo that they are free from all *After-game* in the nomination of the Perſon: all the Kindred of the *Pretenders*, even to the remoteſt degrees, are excluded from Voting, as are alſo all their Creditors, ſo that none can vote but thoſe who ſeem to have no Intereſt in the Iſſue of the Competition; and yet there is ſo much Intrigue, and ſo great a Corruption in the diſtribution of theſe Imployments, that the whole Buſineſs in which all *Bern* is ever in motion, is the catching of the beſt Bailiages, on which a Family will have its Eye for many years before they fall; for the Counſellors

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lors of *Bern* give a very ſmall ſhare of their Eſtates to their *Children* when they marry them: all that they propoſe is to make a Bailliage ſure to them: for this they feaſt and drink, and ſpare nothing by which they may make ſure a ſufficient number of Votes; but it is the Chamber of the Bannerets that admits the Pretenders to the Competition. When the Bailif is choſen, he takes all poſſible methods to make the beſt of it he can, and lets few Crimes paſs, that carry either Confiſcations or Fines after them; his Juſtice alſo is generally ſuſpected. It is true, thoſe of the Bailiage may complain to the Council at *Bern*, as the oppreſſed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of *Rome*, and there have been ſevere *Judgments* againſt ſome more exorbitant Bailifs; yet as Complaints are not made except upon great occaſions, which are not often given by the Bailifs, ſo it being the general Intereſt of the Citizens of *Bern* to make all poſſible Advantages of thoſe Imployments, the Cenſure will be but gentle, except the Complaint is crying.

In *Bern* there is very little Trade, only what is neceſſary for the ſupport of the Town. They maintain Profeſſors in the Univerſities of *Bern* and *Lauſanne*, the one for the *German* Territory, which is the ancient Canton; and the other for the new Conqueſt, which is the *French*: In the former there are about 300 Pariſhes, in the other there are but about 150: But in the Benefices of the *German* ſide the *ancient Rights* of the *Incumbents* are generally preſerved, ſo that ſome Benefices are worth 1000 Crowns: Whereas in the *Païs de Vaud* the Proviſions are

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ſet off as Salaries, and are generally from 100 to 200 Crowns. It is viſible that thoſe of *Bern* truſt more to the Affections and Fidelity of their Subjects, than to the ſtrength of their Walls; for as they have never finiſhed them, ſo what is built cannot be brought to a regular Fortification, and it is not preſerved with any care, nor furniſhed with *Cannon*; but if they have none on their *Ramparts*, they have good ſtore in their *Arſenal*, in which they ſay there are Arms for 40000 Men.

The Peaſants are generally rich, chiefly in the *German* ſide, and are all well armed, they pay no Duties to the Publick, and the Soil is capable of great Cultivation, in which ſome ſucceed ſo well, that I was ſhewed ſome that were by accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had of Eſtate to the value of 100000 Crowns, but that is not ordinary, yet 10000 Crowns for a Peaſant is no extraordinary matter; they live much on their Milk and Corn, which in ſome places, as about *Payern*, yields an encreaſe of 15 meaſures after one, they breed many Horſes, which brings them in a great deal of money. The worſt thing in the Countrey is the moiſture of the Air, which is not only occaſioned by the many Lakes that are in it, and the Neighbouring Mountains that are covered with Snow, ſome all the Summer long, and the reſt till Midſummer: But by the vaſt quantity of Woods of Fir-trees, which ſeem to fill very near the half of their ſoil, and if theſe were for the moſt part rooted out, as they would have much more ſoil, ſo their Air would be much purer, yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their fewel, this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal

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in ſome places: If the Coal is conveniently ſituated, ſo that by their Lakes and Rivers, it can be eaſily carried over the Countrey, it may ſave them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with Wood, ſo the Air becomes thereby the more unwholeſome.

They have ſome Fountains of Salt-water, but the making Salt conſumes ſo much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The Men are generally ſincere but heavy, they think it neceſſary to correct the moiſture of the Air with liberal Entertainments, and they are well furniſhed with all neceſſary ingredients; for as their ſoil produces good Cattle, ſo their Lakes abound in Fiſh, and their Woods in Fowl, the Wine is alſo light and good. The Women are generaly imploy'd in their domeſtick affairs, and the Wives even of the chief Magiſtrates of *Bern*, look into all the concerns of the Houſe and Kitchin, as much as the Wives of the meaneſt Peaſants. Men and women do not converſe promiſcuouſly together, and the women are ſo much amuſed with the management at home, and enter ſo little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Phiſitian there told me, they know not what Vapours are, which he imputed to the idleneſs and the intrigues that abound elſewhere, whereas he ſaid, among them the Blood was cleanſed by their labour, and as that made them ſleep well, ſo they did not amuſe themſelves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were: The third Adultery is puniſhed with death, which is alſo the puniſhment of the fifth act of Fornication; of which I ſaw an inſtance while I was

was in *Bern*: For a Woman who confeſſed her ſelf guilty of many Whoredoms, and deſigned to be revenged on ſome Men, that did not furniſh her liberally with Money, was upon that condemned and executed; the manner was ſolemn, for the Advoyer came into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the ſatisfaction of the people, the whole Proceſs was read, and Sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all: the Councellors both of the Great and Leſſer Council ſtanding about the Advoyer, who after Sentence took the Criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed for her Soul, and after Execution there was a Sermon for the inſtruction of the people.

The whole State is diſpoſed for war, for every man that can bear Arms is liſted, and knows his poſt and arms; and there are Beacons ſo laid over the Country, that the ſignal can run over the whole Canton in a night: And their Military Liſts are ſo laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the Firſt or Second, or not till the General Summons. They aſſured me at *Bern*, that upon a General Summons they could bring above 80000 Men together. The Men are robuſt and ſtrong, and capable of great hardſhip and of good Diſcipline, and have generally an extream ſenſe of Liberty, and a great love to their Countrey; but they labour under a want of Officers. And tho the Subjects of the State are rich, yet the Publick is poor, they can well reſiſt a ſudden Invaſion of their Countrey; but they would ſoon grow weary of a long War, and the ſoil requires ſo much cultivation, that they could not ſpare from their labour

bour the Men that would be neceſſary to preſerve their Countrey: they were indeed as happy as a People could be, when the Emperour had *Alſace* on the one hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they had no reaſon to fear their Neighbours; but now that both theſe Provinces are in the hands of the *French*, the caſe is quite altered; for as *Baſil* is every moment in danger from the Garriſon of *Hunningen*, that is but a Cannon-ſhot diſtant from it, ſo all the *Païs de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither fortified Places, nor good Paſſes to ſecure it, ſo that their Error in ſuffering this to fall into the hands of the *French* was ſo groſs, that I took ſome pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this Account, that I had from one who was then in a very eminent Poſt, ſo that as he certainly knew the Secret, he ſeemed to ſpeak ſincerely to me. He told me that the Duke of *Lorrain* had often moved in the Councils of War, that the Invaſion of *France* ought to be made on that ſide, in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified: this he repeated often, and it was known in *France*; ſo that the King reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Comté*, but uſed that precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offered a Neutrality on that Side: but the *Spaniards*, who judged right, that it was as much the Intereſt of the *Cantons*, as it was theirs, to preſerve the *Comté* in their hands, refuſed to conſent to it; but they took no care to defend it, and ſeemed to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while the *French* Money went about very liberally at *Bern*, and after

ter thoſe who were moſt likely to make oppoſition were gained, the *French* Miniſter propoſed to them the neceſſity in which his Maſter found himſelf engaged to ſecure himſelf on that ſide; but that ſtill he would grant a Neutrality on their account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this all the Aſſurances that could be given in words were offered to them, that they ſhould never find the leaſt prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*, but on the contrary all poſſible protection. There was juſt cauſe given by the *Spaniards* to conſider them very little in their Deliberation: for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor ſend a conſiderable Force to preſerve the *Comté*, ſo that it ſeemed almoſt inevitable to give way to the *French* Propoſition; but one propoſed that which an unbiaſſed Aſſembly would certainly have accepted, That they ſhould go themſelves and take the *Comté*, and by ſo doing they would ſecure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to deſire; and they might eaſily ſatisfie the *Spaniards*, and reimburſe themſelves of the Expence of the Invaſion, by reſtoring the *Comté* to them, when a General Peace ſhould be made. He laid out the Miſery to which their Country muſt be reduced by ſo powerful a Neighbour; but all was loſt labour: ſo he went out in a rage, and publiſhed through the Town, that the State was ſold, and all was loſt. They now ſee their errour too late, and would repair it, if it were poſſible,

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but the truth is, many of the particular Members of this State, do ſo prey upon the publick, that unleſs they do with one conſent reform thoſe abuſes, they will never be in condition to do much: for in many of their Bailiages, of which ſome are Abbeys, the Bailifs not only feed on the Subjects, but likewiſe on the State, and pretend they are ſo far ſuper-expended, that they diſcount a great deal of the Publick Revenue, of which they are the Receivers, for their reimburſement; which made Mr. *d'Erlack* once ſay, when one of thoſe Accounts was preſented, that it was very ſtrange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks. It is true, the power of their Bannerets is ſo great, that one would think they might redreſs many abuſes. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our Companies of *London*, which are the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tanners, and the Blackſmiths, and every Citizen of *Bern* does incorporate himſelf into one of theſe Societies, which they call Abbeys, for it is likely they were antiently a ſort of a Religious Fraternity: every one of theſe chuſes two Bannerets, who bear Office by turns, from 4 years, to 4 years, and every one of them has a Bailiage annexed to his Office, which he holds for life. They carry their Name from the Banners of the ſeveral Abbeys, as the Gonfaloniers of *Italy*: and the Advoyers carry ſtill their Name from the ancient Titles *Ecdicus* or *Advocate*, that was the Title of the Chief Magiſtrates of the Towns in the times of

of the Roman Emperors. The Chamber of the four Bannerets that bear Office, has a vaſt Power, they examine and paſs all Accounts, and they admit all the Competitors to any Offices, ſo that no man can be propoſed to the Council of 200 without their Approbation, and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have ſo abſolute an Authority in ſhutting men out from Employments, that their Office, which is for life, is no leſs conſiderable than that of the Advoyer, tho they are inferiour to him in rank. They manage matters with great addreſs, of which this Inſtance was given me in a Competition for the Advoyerſhip not long ago, there was one whoſe temper was violent, that had made it ſo ſure among thoſe who were qualified to Vote in it, as being neither of his Kindred, or Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other Competitour, whom they favoured, ſo they ſet up a third Competitour, whoſe Kindred were the Perſons that were made ſure to him, whoſe advancement they oppoſed, and by this means they were all ſhut out from Voting, ſo that the Election went according to the deſign of the Bannerets. The chief man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there is Mr. *d'Erlack*, Nephew to that Mr. *d'Erlack* who was Governour of *Briſack*, & had a Brevet to be a Mariſhal of *France*; this is one of the nobleſt Families in *Bern*, that acted a great part in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian* Tyranny, and they have been ever ſince very much diſtinguiſhed there from all the reſt of their

Nobility; The preſent Head of it is a very extraordinary Man, he has a great authority in his Canton, not only as he is Advoyer, but by the particular Eſteem which is payed him: For he is thought the Wiſeſt and Worthieſt Man of the State; tho it is ſomewhat ſtrange how he ſhould bear ſuch a Sway in ſuch a Government, for he neither Feaſts nor Drinks with the reſt. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reſerved, and behaves himſelf liker a Miniſter of State in a Monarchy, than a Magiſtrate in a Popular Government: For one ſees in him none of thoſe Arts, that ſeem neceſſary in ſuch a Government. He has a great Eſtate and no Children, ſo he has no Projects for his Family, and does what he can to correct the abuſes of the State, tho the diſeaſe is inveterate and ſeems paſt cure.

He had a Misfortune in a War that was 30 years ago, in the year 1656. between the *Popiſh* and the *Proteſtant* Cantons, the occaſion of which will ingage me in a ſhort Digreſſion. The Peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preſerved by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what Regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without prejudice to the general League. Now the *Popiſh* Cantons have made Laws, that it ſhall be capital to any to change their Religion, and on a ſet day every year they go all to Maſs, and the Maſters of Families ſwear to continue true to the State, and firm in their Religion to their lives end, and ſo they pretend they puniſh their falling into Hereſie with death and

and confiſcation of goods, becauſe it is a violation of the Faith, which is ſo ſolemnly ſworn. But on the other hand, in the *Proteſtant* Cantons ſuch as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the Canton; but for their Eſtates they ſtill preſerve them, and are permitted to ſell them. One cannot but obſerve more of the Merciful Spirit of the Goſpel in the one than in the other. In two Cantons *Appenzel* and *Glaris* both Religions are tollerated, and are capable of equal Priviledges, and in ſome Bailiages that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the two Cantons name the Bailifs by turns, and both Religions are ſo equally tollerated, that in the ſame Church they have both Maſs and Sermon, ſo equally, that on one Sunday the Maſs begins and the Sermon follows, and the next Sunday the Sermon begins and the Maſs comes next, without the leaſt diſorder or murmuring.

But in year 1656, ſome of the Canton of *Schwitz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Eſtates were Confiſcated, and ſome others that had alſo changed, but had not left the Canton, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Eſtates of the Refugies, but inſtead of granting this, the Canton of *Schwitz* demanded back their Subjects that they might proceed againſt them as Delinquents, and they founded this on a Law, by which the Cantons are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another Canton when they come among them, if they are demauded by the

Canton to which they belong; but thoſe of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both Inhuman and Unchriſtian, tho the Deputy of *Baſil* was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extreamly diſguſted thoſe of *Zurich.* Thoſe of *Schwitz* committed ſome Inſolences upon the Subjects of *Zurich*, and refuſed to give Satisfaction. Upon all which a War followed between the Proteſtant and Popiſh Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raiſed an Army of 25000 Men, which was commanded by Mr. *d'Erlack*, but was diſperſed in ſeveral Bodies: And the Papiſts had not above 6000, yet they ſurpriſed Mr. *d'Erlack* with a Body not much ſuperior to theirs, both ſides after a ſhort engagement run, the Cannon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole day, at laſt thoſe of *Lucern*, ſeeing that none ſtayed to defend the Cannon, carried them off; this Loſs raiſed ſuch a Tumult in *Bern* that they ſeemed reſolved to ſacrifice Mr. *d'Erlack*; but he came with ſuch a Preſence of Mind, and gave ſo ſatisfying an Account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceaſed, and ſoon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that tho the Papiſts acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other Canton could pretend to interpoſe or quarrel with thoſe of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that occoſion. Within theſe few years there were ſome Quarrels like to ariſe in the Canton of *Glaris*, where it was ſaid that the equal Priviledges agreed on to both Religions were not preſerved, but on this

this occaſion the Popes *Nuntio* acted a very different part, from that which might have been expected from him: For whereas the Miniſters of that Court have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the Diſputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the part of a Mediator, and whereas it was viſible that the injuſtice lay on the ſide of the Papiſts, he interpoſed ſo effectually with thoſe of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the Popiſh Cantons, that the Difference was compoſed.

But to return to *Bern*, the Buildings have neither great Magnificence nor many Apartments, but they are Convenient, and ſuted to the way of living in that Countrey. The Streets, not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the ſmalleſt Villages, are furniſhed with Fountains that run continually, which as they are of great uſe, ſo they want not their Beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick: but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town ſtands, it ſeems the ground began to fail, ſo to ſupport it they have raiſed a vaſt Fabrick, which has coſt more than the Church it ſelf; for there is a Platform made, which is a Square, to which the Church is one ſide, and the further ſide is a vaſt Wall, fortified with Buttreſſes about 150 foot high. They told me that all the ground down to the bottom of the Hill was dug into Vaults; this Platform is the chief Walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun ſet; and the River underneath preſents a very Beautiful Proſpect: For there is a Cut taken off from it for the

Mills, but all along as this Cut goes the Water of *Aar* runs over a ſloping bank of Stone, which they ſay, was made at a vaſt charge, and makes a noble and large Caſcade.

The ſecond Church is the *Dominican's* Chappel, where I ſaw the famous hole that went to an Image in the Church, from one of the Cells of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to ſet down that Story at ſome length: For as it was one of the moſt ſignal cheats, that the World has known: ſo it falling out about twenty years before the Reformation was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the people to that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, becauſe I read the Original proceſs in the Latine Record, ſigned by the Notaries of the Court of the *Delegates* that the Pope ſent to try the matter. The Record is above 130 ſheets writ cloſe and of all ſides, it being indeed a large Volume, and I found the Printed accounts ſo defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole proceſs, of which I will give here a true abſtract.

The two famous Orders that had poſſeſſed themſelves of the eſteem of the [illegible] dark Ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The *Dominicans* were the more Learned, they were the eminenteſt Preachers of thoſe times, and had the conduct of the Courts of Inquiſition, and the other chief Offices in the Church in their hands. But on the other hand the *Franciſcans* had an outward appearance of more ſeverity, a ruder habit, ſtricter rules, and greater

ter poverty: all which gave them ſuch advantages in the eyes of the ſimple multitude, as were able to ballance the other honours of the *Dominican* Order. In ſhort, the two Orders were engaged in a high rivalry, but the devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing paſſion of thoſe times, the *Franciſcans* upon this had great advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the defence of *Thomas Aquinas*'s Opinions, were thereby obliged to aſſert that ſhe was born in Original Sin; this was propoſed to the people by the *Franciſcans* as no leſs then blaſphemy, and by this the *Dominicans* began to loſe ground extreamly in the minds of the people, who were ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Immaculate Conception.

About the beginning of the 15th Century, a *Franciſcan* happened to Preach in *Francfort*, and one *Wigand* a *Dominican* coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* ſeeing him broke out into exclamations, praiſing God that he was not of an Order that profained the Virgin, or that poyſoned Princes in the Sacrament, (for a *Dominican* had poyſoned the Emperour *Henry* the VII. with the Sacrament,) *Wigand* being extreamly provoked with this bloody reproach gave him the lie, upon which a diſpute aroſe which ended in a tumult, that had almoſt coſt the *Dominican* his life, yet he got away. The whole Order reſolved to take their revenge, and in a Chapter held at *Vimpſen* in the year 1504. they contrived a method for ſupporting the credit of their Or-

der; which was much ſunk in the opinion of the People, and for bearing down the Reputation of the *Franciſcans*. Four of the Junto undertook to manage the deſign; for they ſaid ſince the People were ſo much diſpoſed to believe Dreams and Fables they muſt dream of their ſide, and endeavour to cheat the People as well as the others had done. They reſolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the project ſhould be put in execution; for they found the people of *Bern* at that time apt to ſwallow any thing, and not diſpoſed to make ſevere Enquiries into extraordinary matters. When they had formed their Deſign, a Fit Tool preſented it ſelf, for one *Jetzer* came to take their Habit as a Lay-brother, who had all the diſpoſitions that were neceſſary for the execution of their Project: For he was extream ſimple, and was much inclined to Auſterities, ſo having obſerved his Temper well, they began to execute their project, the very night after he took the Habit, which was on *Lady-day* 1507. One of the Friars conveyed himſelf ſecretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in Purgatory, in a ſtrange Figure, and he had a Box near his mouth upon which as he blew Fire ſeemed to come out of his mouth. He had alſo ſome Dogs about him that appeared as his Tormentors, in this poſture he came near the Friar while he was a Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they uſed to tell all their Friars, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aſide their Habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was

was Superior of their Houſe at *Soloturn* had gone to *Paris*, but laying aſide his Habit was killed in his Lay-habit. The Friar in the Vizar ſaid, he was that Perſon, and was condemned to Purgatory for that Crime; but he added that he might be reſcued out of it by his means, and he ſeconded this with moſt horrible Cries expreſſing the miſeries which he ſuffered. The poor Friar *Fetzer* was exceſſively frighted, but the other advanced and required a promiſe of him to do that which he ſhould deſire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The frighted Friar promiſed all that he asked of him, then the other ſaid he knew he was a great Saint, and that his Prayers and Mortifications would prevail, but they muſt be very extraordinary. The whole Monaſtery muſt for a Week together diſcipline themſelves with a Whip, and he muſt lie proſtrate in the form of one on a Croſs in one of their Chappels, while Maſs was ſaid in the ſight of all that ſhould come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he ſhould find the effects of the love that the B. Virgin did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things; and ſaid he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits, and aſſured him that all that he did ſuffer for his deliverance ſhould be moſt glorioufly rewarded. Morning was no ſooner come than that the Friar gave an account of this Apparition to the reſt of the Convent, who ſeemed extreamly ſurpriſed at it, they all preſſed him to undergo the Diſci-

pline that was enjoined him, and every one undertook to bear his ſhare, ſo the deluded Friar performed it all exactly in one of the Chappels of their Church: This drew a vaſt number of Spectators together, who all conſidered the poor Friar as a Saint, and in the mean while, the four Friars that managed the Impoſture magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the Skies in their Sermons. The Friars Confeſſor was upon the Secret, and by this means they knew all the little paſſages of the poor Friars Life, even to his Thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The Confeſſor gave him an *Hoſtie*, with a piece of Wood that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the Croſs, and by theſe, he was to fortifie himſelf, if any other Apparitions ſhould come to him, ſince evil Spirits would certainly be chained up by them. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the Maſqued Friar brought two others with him in ſuch Vizards, that the Friar thought they were Devils indeed. The Friar preſented the *Hoſtie* to them, which gave them ſuch a Check, that he was fully ſatisfied of the Vertue of this preſervative.

The Friar that pretended he was ſuffering in *Purgatory*, ſaid ſo many things to him relating to the ſecrets of his Life, and Thoughts, which he had from the Confeſſor; that the poor Friar was fully poſſeſſed in the Opinion of the reality of the Apparition. In two of theſe Apparitions, that were both managed in the ſame manner, the Friar in the Maſque talked

talked much of the *Dominican* Order, which he ſaid was exceſſively dear to the B. Virgin, who knew her ſelf to be conceived in Original ſin, and that the Doctors who taught the contrary, were in *Purgatory*: That the Story of St. *Bernards* appearing with a ſpot on him, for having oppoſed himſelf to the Feaſt of the Conception, was a Forgerie: but that it was true that ſome hideous Flies had appeared on St. *Bonaventure*'s Tomb, who taught the contrary, that the *B.* Virgin abhorred the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son, that *Scotus* was damned, whoſe Canoniſation the *Cordeliers* were then ſoliciting hard at *Rome*, and that the Town of *Bern* would be deſtroyed for harbouring ſuch Plagues within their Walls. When the injoined Diſcipline was fully performed, the Spirit appeared again, and ſaid he was now delivered out of *Purgatory*, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he muſt receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and that he would ſay Maſs for thoſe, who had by their great Charities reſcued him out of his Pains. The Friar fancied the Voice reſembled the *Priors* a little; but he was then ſo far from ſuſpecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this ſuſpicion. Some days after this, the ſame Friar appeared as a Nun all in Glory, and told the poor Fryar that ſhe was St. *Barbara*, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added, that the B. Virgin was ſo much pleaſed with his Charity, that ſhe intended to come and viſit him: He immediately called the

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Convent together, and gave the reſt of the Friars an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the Friar languiſhed in deſires for the accompliſhment of the Promiſe that St. *Barbara* had made him. After ſome days the longed for Deluſion appeared to him, cloathed as the Virgin uſed to be on the great Feaſts, and indeed in the ſame Habits: there were about her ſome Angels, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels which they ſet on the Altars, on the great Holy Days. There was alſo a Pulley faſtned in the Room over his head, and a Cord tied to the Angels, that made them riſe up in the Air, and flie about the Virgin, which increaſed the deluſion. The Virgin, after ſome Endearments to himſelf, extolling the merit of his Charity and Diſcipline, told him that ſhe was conceived in Original Sin, and that Pope *Julius* the ſecond, that then reigned, was to put an end to the Diſpute, and was to aboliſh the Feaſt of her Conception, which *Sixtus* the Fourth had inſtituted, and that the Friar was to be the Inſtrument of perſwading the Pope of the truth in that matter: She gave him three drops of her Sons blood, which were three Tears of blood that he had ſhed over *Jeruſalem*, and this ſignified that ſhe was three hours in Original Sin, after which ſhe was, by his mercy, delivered out of that State: For it ſeems the *Dominicans* were reſolved ſo to compound the matter, that they ſhould gain the main point of her Conception in ſin, yet they would

would comply ſo far with the Reverence for the Virgin, with which the World was poſſeſſed, that ſhe ſhould be believed to have remained a very ſhort while in that State. She gave him alſo five drops of Blood in the form of a Croſs, which were Tears of Blood that ſhe had ſhed while her Son was on the Croſs. And, to convince him more fully, ſhe preſented an Hoſtie to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hoſtie, and of a ſudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of thoſe ſuppoſed Viſits was often repeated to the abuſed Friar, at laſt the Virgin told him that ſhe was to give him ſuch marks of her Sons love to him, that the matter ſhould be paſt all doubt. She ſaid that the five Wounds of St. *Lucia* and S. *Catherine* were real Wounds, and that ſhe would alſo imprint them on him, ſo ſhe bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a Favour in which he was to ſuffer ſo much; but ſhe forced his hand and ſtruck a Nail thro' it, the hole was as big as a grain of peaſe, and he ſaw the Candle clearly thro' it, this threw him out of a ſuppoſed Tranſport into a real Agony; but ſhe ſeemed to touch his hand, and he thought he ſmelt an Ointment, with which ſhe anointed him, tho' his Confeſſor perſwaded him that that was only an Imagination; ſo the ſupoſed Virgin left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned, and brought ſome Linnen Clothes, which had ſome real or Imaginary Vertue to allay his Torment, and the pretended Virgin ſaid, they were ſome of the Linnen in which Chriſt was

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wrapped, and with that ſhe gave him a Soporiferous Draught, and while he was faſt a ſleep, the other four Wounds were imprinted on his Body in ſuch a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this the Friars betook themſelves to Charms, and the Subprior ſhewed the reſt a Book full of them, but he ſaid, that before they could be effectual they muſt renounce God; and he not only did this himſelf, but by a formal Act put in Writing ſigned with his Blood, he dedicated himſelf to the Devil; it is true, he did not oblige the reſt to this, but only to renounce God. The compoſition of the Draught was a mixture of ſome Fountain-water and Chriſm, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, ſome Quickſilver, ſome Grains of Incenſe, ſomewhat of an *Eaſter* Wax-Candle, ſome conſecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptiſed Child. This Compoſition was a Secret, which the Subprior did not communicate to the other Friars. By this the poor Friar *Jetzer* was made almoſt quite inſenſible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep ſleep, he felt this Wonderful Impreſſion on his Body, and now he was raviſhed out of meaſure, and came to fancy himſelf to be acting all the parts of our Saviour's Paſſion; he was expoſed to the People on the great Altar, to the amaſement of the whole Town, and to the no ſmall mortification of the *Franſciſcans*. The *Dominicans* gave him ſome other Draughts that threw him into Convulſions, and when he came out of thoſe a Voice

Voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains and runs from one of the Cells along a great part of the Wall of the Church; for a Friar ſpoke thro' a Pipe, and at the end of the Hole, there was an Image of the Virgin, with a little Jeſus in her Arms, between whom and his Mother the Voice ſeemed to come, the Image alſo ſeemed to ſhed Tears, and a Painter had drawn thoſe on her Face ſo lively, that the People were deceived by it. The little Jeſus askt why ſhe wept, and ſhe ſaid it was becauſe his Honour was given to her, ſince it was ſaid, that ſhe was born without Sin; in Concluſion the Friars did ſo overact this matter, that at laſt even the poor deluded Friar himſelf came to diſcover it, and reſolved to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more Apparitions, for he well nigh killed a Friar that came to him perſonating the Virgin in another ſhape with a Crown on her Head: He alſo over-heard the Friars once talking amongſt themſelves of the Contrivance and Succeſs of the Impoſture, ſo plainly, that he diſcovered the whole Matter; and upon that, as may be eaſily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which ſuch a diſcovery could inſpire him.

The Friars fearing that an Impoſture which was carred on hitherto with ſo much ſucceſs, ſhould be quite ſpoiled, and be turned againſt them, thought the ſureſt way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him

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in which eſteem he would be, if he continued to ſupport the Reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the Chief Perſon of the Order, and in the end they perſuaded him to go on with the Impoſture: but at laſt they, fearing leſt he ſhould diſcover all, reſolved to poyſon him: of which he was ſo apprehenſive, that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with ſome Spices, he kept it for ſome time, and it growing green he threw it to ſome young Wolves whelps that were in the *Monaſtery*, who died immedatly. His Conſtitution was alſo ſo vigorous, that tho they gave him Poyſon five ſeveral times he was not deſtroyed by it. They alſo preſt him earneſtly to renounce God, which they judged neceſſary, that ſo their Charms might have their Effect on him; but he would never conſent to that, at laſt they forced him to take a poiſoned Hoſty, which yet he vomited up ſoon after he had ſwallowed it down; that failing, they uſed him ſo cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about ſo ſtrait with it, that, to avoid further torment, he ſwore to them in a moſt imprecating ſtile, that he would never diſcover the Secret; but would ſtill carry it on; and ſo he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himſelf into the hands of the Magiſtrates, to whom he diſcovered all.

The four Friars were ſeiſed on, and put in Priſon, and an account of the whole Matter was ſent, firſt to the Biſhop of *Lauſanne*, and

and then to *Rome*, and it may be eaſily imagined that the *Franciſcans* took all poſſible care to have it well examined, the Biſhops of *Lauſanne* and of *Zyon*, with the Provincial of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the Proceſs. The four Friars firſt excepted to *Fetzer's* Credit; but that was rejected, then being threatned with the Queſtion they put in a long Plea againſt that; but tho the Provincial would not conſent to that; yet they were put to the Queſtion, ſome endured it long, but at laſt they all confeſſed the whole progreſs of the Impoſture. The Provincial appeared concerned; for though *Fetzer* had opened the whole matter to him, yet he would give no Credit to him, on the contrary he Charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the Friars ſaid plainly, that he was on the whole Secret, and ſo he withdrew, but he died ſome days after at *Conſtance*, having oyſoned himſelf as was believed. The Matter lay aſleep ſome time, but a year after that a *Spaniſh* Biſhop came, authoriſed with full Powers from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four Friars were ſolemnly degraded from their Prieſthood, and Eight days after, it being the laſt of *May* 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow on the other ſide of the River over againſt the great Church; the place of their Execution was ſhewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall, thro which the Voice was Conveyed to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackeſt, and yet the beſt Carried on Cheat, that has been

been ever known, and no doubt had the poor Friar died before the diſcovery, it had paſſed down to poſterity as one of the greateſt Miracles that ever was, and it gives a ſhrewd ſuſpition that many of the other Miracles of that Church were of the ſame nature, but more ſucceſsfully finiſhed.

I ſhall not entertain you any further with the State of *Bern*, but ſhall only add one general remark, which was too viſible not to be obſerved every where, and of too great importance not to deſerve a particular reflection; it belongs in general to all the *Cantons*, but I give it here, becauſe I had more occaſion to make it in *Bern*, having ſeen it more, and ſtaid longer in it, than in the other *Cantons*.

Switzerland lies between *France* and *Italy*, that are both of them Countries incomparably more rich, and better furniſhed with all the Pleaſures and Conveniences of Life than it is, and yet *Italy* is almoſt quite diſpeopled, and the People in it are reduced to a miſery that can ſcarce be imagined by thoſe who have not ſeen it; and *France* is in a great meaſure diſpeopled, and the Inhabitants are reduced to a poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can ſhew it ſelf, both in their Houſes, Furniture, Cloaths and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of People, and in every place in the Villages, as well as in their Towns one ſees all the marks he can look for of Plenty and Wealth, their Houſes and windows are in good caſe, the High-

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ways are well maintained, all People are well Cloathed, and every one lives at his eaſe. This Obſervation ſurpriſed me yet more in the Countrey of the *Griſons*, who have almoſt no Soil at all, being ſituated in Valleys that are almoſt all waſhed away with the torrents that fall down from the Hills, and ſwell their Brooks ſometimes ſo violently and ſo ſuddenly, that in many places the whole Soil is waſhed away, and yet thoſe Valleys are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at eaſe, under a gentle Government, whilſt other rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to ſuch miſery, that as many of the Inhabitants are forced to change their Seats, ſo thoſe who ſtay behind can ſcarce live and pay thoſe grievous Impoſitions that are laid upon them, the rude People generally reaſon very ſimply when they enter into ſpeculations of Government, but they feel true, tho they argue falſe, ſo an eaſie Government tho joyn'd to an ill Soil, and accompanied with great inconveniences, draws, or at leaſt keeps People in it, whereas a ſevere Government, tho in general Ideas it may appear reaſonable, drives its ſubjects even out of the beſt and moſt deſirable Seats.

In my way from *Bern* to this place I paſſed by *Soloturn*, as I came through *Fribourg* in my way from *Lauſanne* to *Bern*, theſe are two of the chief of the Popiſh Cantons, after *Lucerne*, and one ſees in them a heat and bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*; long before they come within the Church Doors they kneel down in the Streets when

when Maſs is a ſaying in it. The Images are alſo extream groſs. In the Chief Church of *Soloturn* there is an Image of God the Father, as an Old Man with a great black Beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a Pigion over his head. Here alſo begins a devotion at the *Ave-Mary-Bel* which is ſcarce known in *France*, but is practiſed all *Italy* over: At noon and at Sun ſet the Bell rings, and all ſay the *Ave-Mary*, and a ſhort Prayer to the Virgin; but whereas in *Italy* they content themſelves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the moſt part kneel down in the Streets, which I ſaw no where practiſed in *Italy*, except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithſtanding this extream bigotry, all the *Switzers* ſee their common intereſt ſo well, that they live in a very good underſtanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the Canton of *Lucern*, where there is a Spirit in the Government very different from what is in moſt of the other Popiſh Cantons: the Reſidence of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour and of the Nuntio in that Town, contributes alſo much to the preſerving it in ſo good a temper, it being their intereſt to unite *Switzerland*, and by thir means the heat and indiſcretion of the reſt is often moderated: The Jeſuits begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they are elſewhere: they have a noble Colledge and Chappel ſituated in the beſt place of *Friburg*. It is not long ſince they were received at *Soloturn*, where there was a Revenue of 1000 Livres a year, ſet off for the main-

maintenance of ten of them, with this Proviſion that they ſhould never exceed that Number; but where they are once ſetled, they find means to break through all Limitations, and they are now become ſo rich there, that they are raiſing a Church and Colledge, which will coſt before it is finiſhed above 400000 Livres to which the *French* King gives 100000 Livres for the Frontis-piece: For this being the Canton in which his Ambaſſadour reſides, he thought it ſutable to his Glory to have a Monument of his Bounty raiſed by an Order that will never be wanting to flatter their Benefactors, as long as they find their Account in it.

In the ſame Canton there is an Abbey that has 100000 Livres of Revenue, there is alſo a very rich Houſe of Nuns that wear the Capuchins Habit, that as I was told had 60000 Livres of Revenue, and but 60 Nuns in it, who having thus 1000 Livres a piece, may live in all poſſible Plenty, in a Countrey where a very little Money goes a great way: But that which ſurprizes one moſt at *Soloturn*, is the great Fortification that they are building of a Wall about the Town, the nobleſt and ſolideſt that is any where to be ſeen, the Stone with which it is faced is a ſort of courſe Marble, but of that bigneſs, that many Stones are 10 foot long, and two foot of breadth and thickneſs: But tho this will be a Work of vaſt expence and great beauty, yet it would ſignifie little againſt a great Army that would attack it vigorouſly. The Wall is finiſhed on the ſide of the River on which the Town ſtands,

ſtands, the Ditch is very broad, and the Counterſcarp and Glaſier are alſo finiſhed, and they are a working at a Fort on the other ſide of the River, which they intend to fortifie in the ſame manner. This has coſt them near two Millions of Livres, and this vaſt Expence has made them often repent the Undertaking; and it is certain that a Fortification that is able to reſiſt the Rage of their *Peaſants* in the caſe of a Rebellion is all that is needful. This Canton has two Advoyers as *Bern*, the little Council conſiſts of 36, they have 12 Bailiages belonging to them, which are very profitable to thoſe that can carry them, they have one Burſar, and but one Banneret. All the Cantons have their Bailiages, but if there are diſorders at *Bern* in the choice of their Bailifs, there are far greater among the *Popiſh* Cantons, where all things are ſold, as a Foreign Miniſter that reſides there told me; who, tho he knew what my Religion was, did not ſtick to own franckly to me, that the *Catholick* Cantons were not near ſo well governed as the *Proteſtant* Cantons. Juſtice is generally ſold among them, and in their Treaties with Forreign Princes, they have ſometimes taken Money both from the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, and have ſigned contradictory Articles at the ſame time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient ſituation which makes it the ſeat of the general Dyet of the Cantons, tho it is not one of them, but is a Bailiage that belongs in common to eight of the Ancient Can-

Cantons. At laſt I came to this place, which as it is the firſt and moſt honourable of all the Cantons, ſo with Relation to us it has a Precedence of a higher Nature, it being the firſt that received the Reformation.

This Canton is much leſs than *Bern*, yet the Publick is much Richer: They reckon that they can bring 50000 Men together upon 24 hours warning, their Subjects live happy: for the Bailifs here have regulated Appointments, and have only the hundredth Penny of the fines, ſo that they are not tempted as thoſe of *Bern* are, to whom the Fine belongs entirely, to ſtrain Matters againſt their Subjects, and whereas at *Bern* the conſtant Intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their Bailiages, here on the contrary it is a Service to which the *Citizens* are bound to ſubmit according to their Conſtitution, but to which they do not aſpire. The Government is almoſt the ſame as at *Bern*, and the Magiſtrate that is called the Advoyer at *Bern*, is here called the Bourgomaſter. The Revenue of the State is here juſtly accounted for, ſo that the Publick Purſe is much Richer than at *Bern*; the *Arſenal* is much better furniſhed, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is a great Trade ſtirring here, and as their Lake, that is 24 Miles long, and about two or three broad, ſupplies them well with Proviſions, ſo their River carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they pleaſe. One of their chief Manufacturies is Crape, which is in all reſpects the beſt I ever ſaw. I will not deſcribe

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the ſituation of the Town, but ſhall content my ſelf to tell you that it is extream pleaſant, the Countrey about it is Mountainous, and the Winters are hard, for the Lake freezes quite over, only in ſome places the Ice never lies, which is believed a mark that ſome Springs riſe there, which cauſe that heat, ſo alſo in the Lake of *Geneva*, though it is never quite frozen, yet great boards of Ice lie in ſeveral parts, but theſe are never ſeen in ſome parts of the Lake, which is ſuppoſed to flow from the ſame Cauſe.

But to return to *Zurich*, one ſees here the true antient ſimplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with Luxury or Vanity, their Women not only do not converſe familiarly with men, except thoſe of their near Kindred, but even in the Streets do not make any Returns to the civility of Strangers, for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women, but they make no Courteſies: and here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not ſaluted, but the Civility is expreſſed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing ſingular in the Conſtitution of *Zurich*, that is their little Council conſiſts of 50 perſons, but there ſit in it only 25 at a time, and ſo the two halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper Bourgomaſter, have alſo the Government in their Hands by turns, and they ſhift every ſix Months, at Midſummer, and at Chriſt-maſs. The whole Canton is divided into nine great Bailiages and 21 Caſtellaneries, in the former the Bailif reſides conſtantly, but the Caſtellan, who is alſo one of the great Coun-

Council, has ſo little to do that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at ſome ſet times of the year to do Juſtice.

The Vertue of this Canton has appeared ſignally in their adhering firmly to the Ancient Capitulation with the *French*, and not ſlackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where Money has a Soveraign influence: But here it has never prevailed. They have converted the Ancient Revenues of the Church more generally to pious uſes than has been done any where elſe, that I know of. They have many Hoſpitals well entertained, in one as I was told, there was 650 Poor kept: but as they ſupport the real Charities, which belongs to ſuch Endowments, ſo they deſpiſe that vain Magnificence of buildings which is too generally affected elſewhere; for theirs are very plain, and one of the Government there ſaid to me very ſenſibly, that they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor, and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.

The Dean and Chapter are likewiſe ſtill continued as a Corporation, and enjoy the Revenues which they had before the Reformation, but if they ſubſiſt plentifully they labour hard, for they have generally two or three Sermons a day, and at leaſt one: The firſt begins at five a Clock in the Morning. From *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are dayly Sermons, which were ſubſtituted upon the Reformation to the Maſs. But the Sermons are generally too long, and

the Preachers have departed from the firſt deſign of theſe Sermons, which were intended to be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it, and if this were ſo contrived that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the people with leſs wearineſs and more profit, ſo it would be a vaſt advantage to the Preachers; For as it would oblige them to ſtudy the Scriptures much, ſo having once made themſelves Maſters of the practical parts of the Scripture, ſuch ſhort and ſimple diſcourſes would coſt them leſs pains, than thoſe more laboured Sermons do, which conſume the greateſt part of their time, and too often to very little purpoſe.

Among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter there is a vaſt Collection of Letters, written either to *Bullinger* or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many Volumes in Folio, and out of theſe no doubt but one might diſcover a great many particulars relating to the Hiſtory of the Reformation: For as *Buillinger* lived long, ſo he was much eſteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to ſome of our *Engliſh* Exiles in Queen *Mary's* Reign, in particular to *Sands* afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *York*, to *Horn* afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and to *Jewel* Biſhop of *Salisbury*. He gave them Lodgings in the Cloſe, and uſed them with all poſſible kindneſs, and as they preſented ſome Silver-Cups to the Colledge, with an Inſcription acknowledging the kind reception they had found

found there, which I ſaw, ſo they continued to keep a conſtant correſpondence with *Bullinger*, after the happy re-eſtabliſhment of the Reformation under Queen *Elizabeth*: Of which I read almoſt a whole Volume while I was there: Moſt of them contain only the general news, but ſome were more important, and relate to the diſputes then on foot, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, which gave the firſt beginnings to our unhappy diviſions, and by the Letters, of which I read the Originals, it appears that the Biſhops preſerved the ancient Habits rather in compliance with the Queens Inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; ſo far they were from liking them, that they plainly expreſt their diſlike of them. *Jewel*, in a Letter bearing date the 8. of *February* 1566. wiſhes that the Veſtments together with all the other Remnants of Popery might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the people, and laments the Queens fixedneſs to them: ſo that ſhe would ſuffer no change to be made. And in *January* the ſame year, *Sands* writes to the ſame purpoſe. *Cotenditur de veſtibus* Papiſticis *utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem.* Diſputes are now on foot concerning the *Popiſh* veſtments whether they ſhould be uſed or not, but God will put an end to thoſe things. *Horn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* went further: For in a Letter dated the 16 of *July*, 1565. He writes of the Act concerning the Habits, with great regret, and expreſſes ſome hopes

that it might be repealed next Seſſion of Parliament, if the *Popiſh* Party did not hinder it, and he ſeems to ſtand in doubt whether he ſhould conform himſelf to it or not, upon which he deſires *Bullinger's* advice. And in many Letters writ on that ſubject, it is aſſerted, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridly* intended to procure an Act for aboliſhing the Habits, and that they only defended their Lawfulneſs, but not their fitneſs, and therefore they blamed private perſons that refuſed to obey the Laws. *Grindal* in a Letter dated the 27 of *Auguſt*, 1566. writes, that all the Biſhops, who had been beyond Sea, had at their return dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the Habits fall: but ſhe was ſo prepoſſeſſed that tho they had all endeavoured to divert her from proſecuting that matter, ſhe continued ſtill inflexible. This had made them reſolve to ſubmit to the Laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverſe them. He laments the ill effects of the oppoſition that ſome had made to them, which had extreamly irritated the Queens ſpirit, ſo that ſhe was now much more heated in thoſe matters than formerly, he alſo thanks *Bullinger* for the Letter that he had writ juſtifying the Lawful-uſe of the Habits, which, he ſays, had done great ſervice. *Cox*, Biſhop of *Ely*, in one of his Letters, laments the averſion that they found in the Parliament to all the propoſitions that were made for the Reformation of abuſes. *Jewel*, in a Letter dated the 22 of *May* 1559. writes, That the Queen refuſed to be called Head of the Church, and adds,

adds. That, that Title could not be juſtly given to any Mortal, it being due only to Chriſt, and that ſuch Titles had been ſo much abuſed by Antichriſt, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all theſe Paſſages I will make no reflections here: For I ſet them down only to ſhew what was the ſenſe of our Chief Church-men at that Time concerning thoſe Matters, which have ſince engaged us into ſuch warm and angry Diſputes, and this may be no inconſiderable Inſtruction to one that intends to write the Hiſtory of that time. The laſt particular with which I intend to end this Letter, might ſeem a little too learned, if I were writing to a leſs knowing Man than your ſelf.

I have taken ſome pains in my Travels to examine all the Antient Manuſcripts of the New Teſtament, concerning that doubted paſſage of St. *Johns* Epiſtle; *There are three that bear witneſs in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and theſe three are one.* *Bullinger* doubted much of it, becauſe he found it not in an Antient Latin Manuſcript at *Zurich*, which ſeems to be about 800 years old: For it is written in that hand that began to be uſed in *Charles* the Great's Time. I turned the Manuſcript, and found the Paſſage was not there; but this was certainly the errour or omiſſion of the Copier: For before the General Epiſtles in that Manuſcript the Preface of St. *Jerome* is to be found, in which he ſays that he was the more exact in that Tranſlation, that ſo he might diſcover the

fraud of the *Arrians* who had ſtruck out that paſſage concerning the Trinity. This Preface is printed in *Lira*'s Bible: but how it came to be left out by *Eraſmus* in his Edition of that Father's works, is that of which I can give no account: For as on the one hand *Eraſmus*'s ſinceritie ought not to be too raſhly cenſured, ſo on the other hand that Preface being in all the Manuſcripts Antient or Modern of thoſe Bibles that have the other Prefaces in them that I ever yet ſaw, it is not eaſie to imagine what made *Eraſmus* not to publiſh it, and it is in the Manuſcript Bibles at *Baſle*, where he printed his Edition of St. *Jerome*'s works. In the old Manuſcript Bible of *Geneva*, that ſeems to be above 700 years old, both the Preface and the paſſage are extant, but with this difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions ſet the verſe concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of *the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copy: And that I may in this place end all the readings I found of this paſſage in my Travels, there is a Manuſcript in St. *Mark*'s Library in *Venice* in three Languages, Greek, Latin, and Arabick, that ſeem not above 400 years old, in which this paſſage is not in the Greek, but it is in the Latin ſet after the other three with a *ſicut* to join it to what goes before. And in a Manuſcript Latin Bible in the Librarie of St. *Laurence* at *Florence* both S. *Jerome*'s Preface and this paſſage are extant: but this Paſſage comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *ſicut* as is that of *Venice*: yet

ſicut

ſicut is not in the *Geneva* Manuſcript. There are two Greek Manuſcripts of the Epiſtles at *Baſle*, that ſeem to be about 500 years old, in neither of which this paſſage is to be found: they have alſo an Ancient Latine Bible, which is about 800 years old, in which tho St. *Jerom*'s Prologue is inſerted, yet this paſſage is wanting. At *Strasburg* I ſaw 4 very Ancient Manuſcripts of the New Teſtament in Latine: three of theſe ſeemed to be about the time of *Charles* the Great, but the fourth ſeemed to be much Antienter, and may belong to the ſeventh Century: in it neither the Prologue nor the place is extant: but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other the Prologue is extant, but the place is not: only in one of them it is added on the Margent. In the fourth as the Prologue is extant, ſo is the place likewiſe, but it comes after the verſe of the other three, and is joined to it thus, *ſicut tres ſunt in cœlo.*

It ſeem'd ſtrange to me, and it is almoſt incredible, that in the *Vatican* Library there are no Antient Latin Bibles, where above all other places they ought to be lookt for: but I ſaw none above 400 year old. There is indeed the famous Greek Manuſcript of great value, which the *Chanoine Shelſtrat*, that was Librarie-keeper, aſſerted to be 1400. year old, and proved it by the great ſimilitude of the Characters with thoſe that are upon S. *Hippolites* Statue, which is ſo evident, that if his Statue was made about his time the Antiquitie of this Manuſcript is not to be diſpu-

ted. If the Characters are not ſo fair, and have not all the marks of Antiquity that appears in the Kings Manuſcript at St. *James*'s, yet this has been much better preſerved, and is much more entire. The paſſage that has led me into this digreſſion, is not to be found in the *Vatican* Manuſcript, no more than it is in the Kings Manuſcript. And with this I will finiſh my account of *Zurich*. The Publick Library is very noble; the Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; there is a very handſome Cabinet of Medals, and ſo I will break off; but when I have gone ſo much farther that I have gathered Materials for another Letter of this Volume, you may look for a ſecond Entertainment, ſuch as it is, from

Your, &c.

Poſtſcript.

I told you, that in *Bern* the Bailiages are given by a ſort of Ballot, which is ſo managed that no Mans Vote is known; but I muſt now add, that ſince I was firſt there, they have made a conſiderable regulation in the way of Voting, when Offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the *Venetian* Method, and which expoſes the Competitours more to chance, and by conſequence may put an end to the Intrigues, that are ſo much in uſe for obtaining thoſe Imployments. There is a number of Balls put into a Box, equal to the number of thoſe that have right to Vote, and that are preſent; of theſe the third part is Gilt, and two parts are only Silvered, ſo every one takes out a Ball; but none

none can vote except thoſe who have the gilt Balls, ſo that hereafter a man may have more then two thirds ſure, and yet be caſt in a Competition.

There is one thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular thoſe of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended, they have ever ſince the Perſecution began firſt in *France*, opened a Sanctuary to ſuch as have retired thither, in ſo generous and ſo Chriſtian a manner, that it deſerves all the honourable remembrances that can be made of it: ſuch Miniſters and others that were at firſt condemned in *France*, for the affair of the *Chevennes*, have not only found a kind reception here, but all the ſupport that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reaſon expected. For they have aſſigned the *French* Miniſters a Penſion of five Crowns a Month, if they were unmarried, have increaſed it to ſuch as had Wife and Children, ſo that ſome had above ten Crowns a month Penſion. They diſperſed them over all the *Païs de Vaud*: but the greateſt number ſtaid at *Lauſanne* and *Vevay*. In order to the ſupporting of this charge, the charities of *Zurich* and the other Neighbouring *Proteſtant* States, were brought hither. Not only the *Proteſtant* Cantons, but the *Griſons*, and ſome ſmall States that are under the protection of the Cantons, ſuch as *Neuf-chaſtel*, S. *Gall*, and ſome others have ſent in their Charities to *Bern*, who diſpence them with great diſcretion, and bear what further charge this relief brings upon them, and in this laſt total and deplorable diſ-

perſion of thoſe Churches, the whole Countrey has been animated with ſuch a Spirit of Charity and Compaſſion, that every Mans houſe and Purſe has been opened to the Refugies that have paſſed thither in ſuch numbers, that ſome times there have been above 2000 in *Lauſanne* alone, and of theſe there were at one time near 200 Miniſters, and they all met with a kindneſs and free heartedneſs, that lookt more like ſomewhat of the Primitive Age revived, than the degeneracy of the Age in which we live.

I ſhall Conclude this Poſtſcript, which is already ſwelled to the bigneſs of a Letter, with a ſad Inſtance of the Anger and Heat that riſes among Divines concerning matters of ſmall conſequence.

The middle way that *Amirald*, *Daille*, and ſome others in *France* took in the matters that were diſputed in *Holland*, concerning the Divine Decrees and the extent of the Death of Chriſt, as it came to be generally followed in *France*, ſo it had ſome Aſſertors both in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, who denied the imputation of *Adam*'s Sin, and aſſerted the Univerſality of Chriſt's Death, together with a ſufficient Grace given to all Men, aſſerting with this a particular and free Decree of Election, with an Efficacious Grace for thoſe included in it; theſe came to be called Univerſaliſts, and began to grow very conſiderable in *Geneva*: two of the Profeſſors of Divinity there being known to favour thoſe Opinions. Upon this thoſe who adhered ſtrictly to the oppoſite Doctrine, were inflamed, and the Contention grew to that

that height, that almoſt the whole Town came to be concerned, and all were divided into Parties. If upon this the Magiſtrates had enjoyned ſilence to both Parties, they had certainly acted wiſely; for theſe are Speculations ſo little certain, and ſo little eſſential to Religion, that a diverſity of Opinions ought not to be made the occaſion of Heat or Faction. But tho' the Party of the Univerſaliſts was conſiderable in *Geneva*, it was very ſmall in *Switzerland*, therefore ſome Divines there, that adhered to the old received Doctrine, drew up ſome Articles in which all theſe Doctrines were not only condemned, together with ſome Speculations that were aſſerted concerning *Adam*'s Immortality, and other Qualities belonging to the State of Innocency; but becauſe *Capel* and ſome other Criticks had not only aſſerted the Novelty of the Points, but had taken the Liberty to correct the Reading of the Hebrew, ſuppoſing that ſome Errours had been committed by the Copiers of the Bible, both in the Vowels and Conſonants, in oppoſition to this, they condemned all Corrections of the Hebrew Bible, and aſſerted the Antiquity of the Points, or at leaſt of the Power and Reading according to them, by which, tho' they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf*'s Opinion, as to the Antiquity of the Points, yet they ſhut the Door againſt all Corrections of the preſent punctuation. If this conſent of Doctrine, for ſo they termed it, had been made only the Standard againſt which no Man might have taught, without in-

incurring Cenſures, the ſeverity had been more tolerable: but they obliged all ſuch as ſhould be admitted either to the Miniſtry, or to a *Profeſſors* Chair, to ſign *ſic ſentio*, ſo I think, and this being ſo ſetled at *Bern* and *Zurich* it was alſo carried by their Authority at *Geneva:* but for thoſe in Office, the Moderator and Clerk ſigned it in all their names: and thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in thoſe matters, but they would needs, according to a Maxim that has been ſo often fatal to the Church, enter into peoples conſciences, and either ſhut out young men from imployments, or impoſe a Teſt upon them, which perhaps ſome have ſigned not without ſtruglings in their Conſcience. Yet ſome that ſet on this Teſt or Conſent are men of ſuch extraordinary worth, that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a ſincere zeal, for that which they believe to be the truth, only I wiſh they had larger, and freer ſouls.

The only conſiderable Tax under which the *Switzers* lie, is that when Eſtates are ſold the fifth part of the price belongs to the Publick, and all the abatement that the Bailif can make, is to bring it to a ſixth part, this they call the *Lod*, which his derived from *alodium*: only there are ſome Lands that are *Frank-alod*, which lie not under this Tax: but this falling only on the ſellers of Eſtates, it was thought a juſt puniſhment, and a wiſe reſtraint on ill husbands of their Eſtates.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have gi-

given you of the derivation of Advoyer, when I found that in ſome ſmall Towns in the Canton of *Bern* the chief Magiſtrate is ſtill ſo called; as in *Payerne*, ſo that I make no doubt but as the Antient Magiſtrates in the time of the *Romans*, that were to give an account of the Town, were called Advocates, and afterwards the Judge in Civil Matters, that was named by the Biſhops, was called at firſt Advocate, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus*: ſo this was the Title that was ſtill continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Auſtrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preſerved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps toucht too ſlightly the laſt difference that was in *Switzerland* which related to the Canton of *Glaris*. In the Canton of *Apenzel*, as the two Religions are tollerated, ſo they are ſeparated in different quarters, thoſe of one Religion have the one half of the Canton, and thoſe of the other Religion have the other half, ſo they live apart: but in *Glaris* they are mixt: and now the number of the Papiſts is become very low; one aſſured me there were not above 200 families of that Religion, and thoſe are alſo ſo poor that their neceſſities diſpoſe ſome of them every day to change their Religion. The other Popiſh Cantons ſeeing the danger of loſing their intereſt entirely in that Canton, and being ſet on by the intrigues of a Court, that has underſtood well the policy of imbroiling all other States, made great uſe of ſome complaints that were brought by the Papiſts of *Glaris*, as if the prevail-

vailing of the other Religion expoſed them to much injuſtice and oppreſſion: and upon that they propoſed that the Canton ſhould be equally divided into two halves, as *Appenzel* was: this was extreamly unjuſt, ſince the Papiſts were not the tenth, or perhaps the 20. part of the Canton. It is true it was ſo ſituated in the midſt of the *Popiſh* Cantons, that the *Proteſtant* Cantons could not eaſily come to their aſſiſtance: but thoſe of *Glaris* reſolved to die rather than ſuffer this injuſtice, and the *Proteſtant* Cantons reſolved to engage in a War with the *Popiſh* Cantons if they impoſed this Matter on their Brethren of *Glaris*: at laſt this Temper was found, that in all Sutes of Law between thoſe of different Religions, two Thirds of the Judges ſhould be always of the Religion of the Defendant, but while this Conteſt was on foot, thoſe who, as is believed, fomented it, if they did not ſet it on, knew how to make their advantage of the Conjuncture: for then was the Fortification of *Huninghen* at the Ports of *Baſle* much advanced, of the importance of which they are now very apprehenſive when it is too late. There are ſix Noble Families in *Bern* that have ſtill this Priviledge, that when any of them is choſen to be of the Council, they take place before all the Antient Counſellors, whereas all the reſt take place according to the Order in which they were choſen to be of the Council.

THE

THE SECOND LETTER.

Millan, the firſt of *October*, 1685.

AFTER a ſhort ſtay at *Zurich* we went down the Lake, where we paſt under the Bridge at *Ripperſwood*, which is a very Noble Work for ſuch a Country; the Lake is there about half a mile broad, the Bridge is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either ſide, ſo that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the Lakes: and this ſame defect I found in almoſt all the Bridges of *Lombardy*, which ſeemed very ſtrange; for ſince that defence is made upon ſo ſmall an expence, it was amazing to ſee Bridges ſo naked: and that was more ſurprizing in ſome places where the Bridges are both high and long: yet I never heard of any miſchief that followed on this, but thoſe are Sober Countrys, where drinking is not much in uſe. After two days journey we came to *Coire*, which is the chief Town of the *Griſons*, and where we found a general Diet of the three Leagues ſitting, ſo that having ſtaid ten days there, I came to be

be informed of a great many particulars concerning thoſe Leagues, which are not commonly known : The Town is but little, and may contain between four and five thouſand Souls; it lies in a bottom upon a ſmall Brook, that a little below the Town falls into the *Rhine.* It is environed with Mountains of all hands, ſo that they have a very ſhort Summer, for the Snow is not melted till *May* or *June*; and it began to Snow in *September* when I was there : On a riſing ground at the Eaſt-end of the Town is the Cathedral, the Biſhops Palace, and the Cloſe where the Dean and ſix Prebendaries live; all within the Cloſe are Papiſts, but all the Town are Proteſtants, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high in the Hill, one goes up by a ſteep aſcent to Saint *Lucius* Chappel; my Curioſity carried me thither : Tho I gave no Faith to the Legend of King *Lucius*, and of his coming ſo far from home to be the Apoſtle of the *Griſons.* His Chappel is a litte Vault about ten foot ſquare, where there is an Altar, and where Maſs is ſaid upon ſome great Feſtivities; it is ſituated under a natural Arch that is in the Rock, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit, from it ſome drops of a ſmall Fountain fall down near the Chappel; the Biſhop aſſured me it had a miraculous Vertue for weak-eyes, and that it was Oily : but neither taſte nor feeling could diſcover to me any Oylineſs : I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock-water

Water is, but when I offered to ſhew the good old Biſhop that the Legend of *Lucius* was a Fable in all the parts of it; but moſt remarkably in that which related to the *Griſons*; and that we had no Kings in *Brittain* at that time, but were a Province to the *Romans*, that no Antient Authors ſpeak of it; *Bede* being the firſt that mentions it; and that the pretended Letter to Pope *Eleutherius*, together with his Anſwer, has evident Characters of Forgery in it, all this ſignified nothing to the Biſhop, who aſſured me that they had a Tradition of that in their Church, and it was inſerted in their Breviary which he firmly believed: he alſo told me the other Legend of King *Lucius*'s Siſter S. *Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whoſe Veil there was yet a conſiderable Remnant reſerved among their Reliques: I confeſs I never ſaw a Relique ſo ill diſguiſed, for it is a piece of worn linnen Cloath lately waſht, and the Burning did not ſeem to be above a Month old; and yet when they took it out of the Caſe to ſhew it me, there were ſome there that with great Devotion rub'd their Beads upon it. The Biſhop had ſome Conteſts with his Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire he had proſcribed him: The Dean had alſo behaved himſelf ſo inſolently, that by an Order of the Diet, to which even the Biſhop, as was believed, conſented, he was put in Priſon as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common conſent both of the *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant* Communities, a Law was long ago made againſt

againſt Eccleſiaſtical Immunities: this attempt on the Dean was made four year ago; as ſoon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great Complaints of the Biſhop, and it was thought the Popiſh party intended to move in the Diet while we were there for the repealing of that Law, but they did it not. The foundation of the quarrel between the Biſhop and Dean was the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretended, and upon which the Biſhop made ſome invaſion: Upon which I took occaſion to ſhew him the novelty of thoſe Exemptions, and that in the primitive Church it was believed that the Biſhop had the authority over his Preſbyters by a divine right; and if it was by a divine right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his obedience: but the Biſhop would not carry the matter ſo high, and contented himſelf with two Maxims; the one was, That the Biſhop was Chriſt's Vicar in his Dioceſs; and the other was, That what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Biſhop was the ſame in his Dioceſs.

He was a good natured man, and did not make uſe of the great Authority that he has over the Papiſts there, to ſet them on to live uneaſily with their neighbours of another Religion. That Biſhop was antiently a great Prince, and the greateſt part of the League that carries ſtill the name of *The Houſe of God* belonged to him, tho I was aſſured that *Pregallia* one of thoſe Communities was a free State above ſix hundred years ago, and that

that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other Communities of this League bought their Liberties from ſeveral Biſhops ſome conſiderable time before the Reformation, of which the Deeds are yet extant, ſo that it is an impudent thing to ſay, as ſome have done, that they ſhook off his yoke at that time.

The Biſhop hath yet reſerved a Revenue of about one thouſand pound ſterling a year, and every one of theſe Prebendaries hath near two hundred pound a year. It is not eaſie to imagine out of what the Riches of this Countrey is raiſed, for one ſees nothing but a tract of vaſt Mountains that ſeem barren Rocks, and ſome little Vallies among them not a mile broad, and the beſt part of theſe is waſhed away by the *Rhine*, and ſome Brooks that fall into it: but their wealth conſiſts chiefly in their Hills, which afford much paſture; and in the hot months, in which all the paſture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into theſe Hills, which brings them in a Revenue of above two hundred thouſand Crowns a year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular perſons are ſo rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have Eſtates to the value of one hundred thouſand Crowns. Mr. *Schoveſtein*, that is accounted the Richeſt Man in the Country, is believed to be worth a million, I mean of Livres. The Government there is purely a Commonwealth, for in the choice of their Magiſtrates every man that is

above

above ſixteen years old hath his Voice, which is alſo the Conſtitution of ſome of the ſmall Cantons. The three Leagues are, the League of the *Griſons*, that of *the Houſe of God*, and that of *the ten Juriſdictions.*

They believe that upon the incurſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as ſome fled to the *Venetian* Iſlands, out of which aroſe that famous Common-wealth; ſo others came and ſheltred themſelves in thoſe Valleys. They told me of an Antient Inſcription lately found, of a Stone where on the one ſide is graven, *Omitto Rhetos Indomitos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by *Julius Cæſar*; the Stone on which this Inſcription is, is upon one of their Mountains, but I did not paſs that way, ſo I can make no judgment concerning it. After the firſt forming of this People, they where caſt into little States, according to the different Valleys which they inhabited, and in which Juſtice was adminiſtred, and ſo they fell under the Power of ſome little Princes that became ſevere Maſters; but when they ſaw the Example that the *Switzers* had ſet them, in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian* yoke, above two hundred years ago, they likewiſe combined to ſhake off theirs; only ſome few of thoſe ſmall Princes uſed their Authority better, and concurred with the people in ſhaking off the yoke, and ſo they are ſtill parts of the body; only *Haldeſtein* is an abſolute Soverainty, it is about two Miles from *Coire* to the Weſt, on the other ſide of the *Rhine*; the whole Territory is about half a Mile long at the foot

foot of the *Alps*, where there is ſcarce any breadth. The authority of theſe Barons was formerly more abſolute than it is now, for the ſubjects were their Slaves: but to keep together the little Village; they have granted them a power of naming a liſt for their Magiſtrates, the perſon being to be named by the Baron; who hath alſo the right of pardoning, a right of coining, and every thing alſo that belongs to a Soveraign. I ſaw this little Prince in *Coire*, in an Equipage not ſuitable to his Quality, for he was in all points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other Baronies that are Members of the Diet, and ſubject to it; the chief belonged to the Arch-Dukes of *Inchpruck*; the other two belong to Mr. *Schovenſtein* and Mr. *de Mont*, they are the Heads of thoſe Communities of which their Baronies are compoſed; they name the Magiſtrates out of the Liſts that are Preſented to them by their Subjects; and they have the right of pardoning & of confiſcations: That belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria* is the biggeſt, it hath five voices in the Diet, and it can raiſe twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* bought it of the Emperor in the year 1679. He entred upon the Rights of the ancient Barons, which were ſpecified in an agreement that paſt between him and his Peaſants, and was confirmed by the Emperour. *Travers* made many incroachments upon the Priviledges of his Subjects, who upon that made their Complaints to the League; but *Travers* would have the matter judged at *Inchpruck*, and the Emperor ſupported him in this pretenſion,

ſion, and ſent an Agent to the Diet: I was preſent when he had his Audience, in which there was nothing but general Complements: But the Diet ſtood firm to their Conſtitution, and aſſerted that the Emperor had no authority to judge in that matter which belonged only to them, ſo *Travers* was forced to let his Pretenſions fall.

All the other parts of this State are purely Democratical, there are three different Bodies or Leagues, and every one of theſe are an intire Government, and the Aſſembly or Diet of the three Leagues, is only a Confederacy like the united Provinces or the Cantons: There are ſixty ſeven Voices in the General Diet, which are thus divided: the League of the *Griſons* hath twenty-eight Voices, that of the Houſe of God hath twenty four, and that of the Juriſdictions hath fifteen. The Juriſdictions belonged anciently to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but they having ſhaken off that authority were incorporated into the Diet, but in the laſt Wars of *Germany*, the *Auſtrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke, yet they defended their Liberty with ſo much vigour, that the *Auſtrians* it ſeems thought the Conqueſt not worth the while, and that it would not quit the Coſt. They were affrighted by two extraordinary actions; in one Village which was quite abandoned by all the Men belonging to it, who left the Women in it, ſome hundreds, as I was told, were quartered, and were apprehenſive of no danger from their Hoſteſſes; but the Women intend

ed to let their Husbands ſee that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action; tho it muſt be confeſt it was a little too rough and barbarous for the Sex: They entred into a combination to cut the throats of all the Souldiers at one time: the Woman that propoſed this, had four lodged with her, and ſhe with her own hands diſpatcht them all, and ſo did all the reſt, not one Souldier eſcaping to carry away the news of ſo unheard of a rage. In another place a body of *Auſtrians* came into a Valley that was quite abandoned, for the Men that had no Arms but their Clubs and Staves, had got up to the Mountains; but they took their meaſures ſo well, and poſſeſſed themſelves ſo of the Paſſes, that they came down upon the Souldiers with ſo much fury that they defeated them quite, ſo that very few eſcaped, and it is certain, that the ſubduing them would have proved a very hard work: It is true, they are not in a condition to hold out long, the Publick is ſo poor; ſo that tho particular perſons are extream rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preſerve his Liberty, which is more intire here than it is even in *Switzerland*, but this ſwells often too much, and throws them into great Convulſions. The League of the *Griſons* is the firſt and moſt ancient, and it is compoſed of eight and twenty Communities, of which there are eighteen Papiſts, and the reſt are Proteſtants; the Communities of the two Religions live neighbourly together, yet they do not ſuffer thoſe of another Religion

gion to live among them, ſo that every Community is entirely of the ſame Religion, and if any one changes he muſt go into another Community. Each Community is an intire State within it ſelf, and all Perſons muſt meet once a year to chuſe the Judge and his Aſſiſtants, whom they change or continue from year to year as they ſee cauſe: There is no difference made between Gentleman and Peaſant, and the Tenant hath a Vote as well as his Landlord, nor dare his Landlord uſe him ill when he Votes contrary to his Intentions, for the Peaſants would look upon that as a common quarrel. An Appeal lies from the Judge of the Community to the Aſſembly of the League, where all Matters end; for there lies no Appeal to the general Diet of the three Leagues, except in matters that concern the Conquered Countries, which belong in common to all the Three. There is one choſen by the Deputies for the Aſſembly of the League, who is called the head of the League, that can call them together as he ſees cauſe, and can likewiſe bring a Cauſe that had been once judged to a ſecond hearing. *Ilants* is the chief Town of this League, where their Diet meets. The ſecond League is *that of the Houſe of God*, in which there are four and twenty Communities, the Bourgomaſter of *Coire* is always the head of this League: This League is almoſt wholly *Proteſtant*, and the two Valleys of the upper and lower *Engedin* are pointed out by the Papiſts, as little leſs than *Cannibals* towards ſuch Catholicks as come among them; but Friar *Sfondrato*, Nephew

phew to Pope *Gregory* the Fourteenth, whoſe Mother the Marqueſs of *Bergominiero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true to his great regret. About eighteen year ago he was believed to have wrought Miracles, and he became ſo much in love with the Crown of Martyrdom that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he deſired. His Brother had come ſometime before into the Countrey to drink mineral Waters, and was well known to the *Gentrey*, ſo ſome of theſe hearing of the Friars coming went and waited on him; and he was entertained by them in their Houſes, and conveyed through the Country; tho' he took all poſſible wayes to provoke them, for he was often railing at their Religion, but to all that they made no anſwer, only they continued their Civilities ſtill, which did ſo inrage the warm Friar that he went to *Bormio*, and (there as was believed) he died of grief. An accident fell out five year ago, that the People of the Countrey eſteemed a ſort of a Miracle. The *Papiſts* in their Proceſſions go ſometimes out of one Community into another, and when they paſs through *Proteſtant* Communities they lower the Croſs, and give over ſinging till they are again upon *Popiſh* ground; but then they went on bearing up the Croſs, and ſinging as they went, upon which the *Proteſtants* ſtopt them, and would not ſuffer them to go on in that manner: they finding that they were not equal in number to the *Proteſtants*, ſent to a *Catholick*

Community, and desired them to come to their assistance: Two thousand came, and by all appearance the dispute would have had a bloody issue: for the *Protestants* were resolved to maintain the Rights of their Community, and the others were no less resolved to force their way: but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it the *Papists* fancied they saw a vast body of men, which was no other than a Wood: but terrified with the appearance of such a number, they retired; and this saved a little battel that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole Constitution and Union of their Leagues. The *Papists* of Quality endeavour much to keep their People in order, but they acknowledged to my self, that the *Protestants* were much peaceabler than the *Catholicks*. The Jurisdictions have fifteen Votes in the general Diet, yet they are generally called the Ten Jurisdictions, and the greater part of them are likewise of the Religion, for upon the general computation of the three Leagues, the *Protestants* are about two thirds. In their Diets there are three Tables, one in the middle, and two on either side; at every Table sits the head of the League and Secretary near him, and from the Table there goes down Benches on both hands for the Deputies from the Communities of that League: They hold their Diets by turns in the chief Towns of the several Leagues, and it hapned to be the turn of *The House of God*, when I was there, so they met at *Coire*.

The

The three Leagues have a conquered Countrey in *Italy* divided into three Diſtricts, the *Valteline*, *Chavennes*, and *Bormio*. When *John Galeaſſe* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and drive out *Barnabas*, *Maſtinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given thoſe three Branches of the Dutchy of *Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hoſpitably received and entertained by the Biſhop, when he died he gave his Right to thoſe Territories to the Cathedral of *Coire*, but here was a Title without a Force able to make it good. But when the Wars of *Italy* were on foot, the three Leagues being much courted by both the Crowns, ſince they were Maſters of the Paſſes, by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they reſolved to lay hold on that Opportunity: yet they had not zeal enough for their Biſhop to ingage deep upon his account, ſo they agreed with him to pay him ſuch a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were ſo conſiderable to the *Spaniards*, that without ſo much ado, they yielded thoſe parcels of the Dutchy of *Milan* to them, and by this means they are poſſeſſed of them. Thoſe Acceſſions to this State are much better than the Principal, for as certainly the *Valteline*, which is above forty miles long, and two broad, is one of the richeſt Valleys in the World, in which there are three Harveſts ſome years, ſo the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the beſt *Valleys* of the *Griſons*; yet the ingagement that people have to their native homes appears ſignally

here, ſince the *Griſons* have not forſaken their Countrey that they might ſcituate themſelves ſo advantagiouſly: but they love their rugged *Valleys*, and think the ſafety they injoy in them beyond the pleaſures of their acquired Dominions, ſo they govern them by Bailifs and *Podeſta's*, and other Officers whom they ſend among them: And all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the Magiſtrates whom they do ſend to Govern them, do inrich themſelves as the Bailifs in *Switzerland* do. All thoſe Offices go round the ſeveral Communities who have the right of Nomination in their turn: But if there is none of the Community proper for the Employment, any one of another Community may buy of them the Nomination for that turn, and the Community diſtribute among them the Money that he gives them. The Publick draws nothing out of thoſe parts, except the Fines, which in ſome years amounts to no conſiderable ſum, and ten or twelve thouſand Crowns is thought a great deal to be raiſed out of them in a year, ſo that their Subjects live happy and free of all Taxes, which made their laſt Revolt appear the more extraordinary, and it was indeed the effect of a very ſurpriſing Bigotry, when a People under the gentleſt yoke in the World, who had no other grievance, but that now and then their Magiſtrates were of another Religion, and that the *Proteſtant* Religion was tolerated amongſt them, would therefore throw off their Maſters, cut the throats of their Neighbours, and caſt themſelves into the hands of the *Spaniards*,

Spaniards, who are the terribleſt Maſters in the World.

But to give a more particular relation of that matter, and to tell the circumſtances which ſeem a little to leſſen that Rebellion and Maſſacre, I muſt give an account of a part of this Conſtitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greateſt men in it to tremble: The Peaſants come ſometimes in great Bodies and demand a Chamber of Juſtice from the general Diet, and they are bound to grant it always when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years; commonly this Tumult of the Peaſants is ſet on by ſome of the male-contented Gentry, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This Court is compoſed of ten Judges out of every League, and twenty Advocates, who manage ſuch Accuſations as are preſented to them; this Court is paramount to Law, and acts like a Court of Inquiſition, they give the Queſtion, and do every thing that they think neceſſary to diſcover the truth of ſuch Accuſations as are preſented to them, and the deciſions of this Court can never be brought under a ſecond review, tho there is an exception to this, for about a hundred years ago one Court of Juſtice reverſed all that another had done, but that is a ſingle inſtance. The Peaſants are in as great a jealouſie of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*, and the good Men among them are extream ſenſible of a great diſſolution of Morals that the *Spaniſh* ſervice brings among them: For

there is a *Griſon* Regiment kept ſtill in pay by the *Spaniards*, there are in it twelve Companies of fifty a piece, and the Captains have a thouſand Crowns pay, tho they are not obliged to attend upon the ſervice: This is upon a matter a Penſion paid under a more decent name to the moſt conſiderable Men of the Countrey, and this is ſhared among them without any diſtinction of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, and is believed to ſway their Councils much. The Peaſants are apt to take fire, and to believe they are betrayed by thoſe Penſioners of *Spain*, and when rumors are blown about among them, they come in great numbers to demand a Chamber of Juſtice; the common Queſtion that they give, which is alſo uſed all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, is that they tie the Hands of the ſuſpected perſon behind his back, and pull them up to his Head, and ſo draw them about, by which the arms and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are diſjointed, and when a Perſon put to the Queſtion confeſſes his Crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he is obliged to renew his Confeſſion upon Oath at the place of Execution, and if he goes off from it then, and ſaith that his Confeſſion was extorted by the Violence of the Torture, he is put again to the Queſtion: For this paſſes for a Maxime, that no man muſt die unleſs he confeſſeth himſelf guilty: Generally when the fury of demanding this Chamber is ſpread among the people, the *Gentry* run away, and leave the whole matter in the power of the Peaſants, for they know not where it will

will end, and ſo the Peaſants being named to be Judges, the Juſtices go quick till ſome Sacrifices appeaſe the Rage. Two year ago, upon the ſale of a Common to the Biſhop of *Como*, to which he had an ancient pretenſion, the Peaſants having no more the Liberty of the Common, were inraged at their Magiſtrates, and a report was ſpread abroad, of which the firſt Author could never be diſcovered, that the *Spaniards* had ſent a hundred thouſand Crowns among them to corrupt all their Magiſtrates, upon this they were ſo ſet on fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made to this fury: But the Gentry hapned to be then ſo much united, that there was none of them ingaged among the Peaſants, or that managed their rage: a Chamber of Juſtice was granted, but the matter was ſo ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty, yet ſome that had dealt in that tranſaction were fined, not ſo much for any fault of theirs, as to raiſe a Fond to pay the Expences of the Chamber, and becauſe they could not find colour enough to raiſe ſo much out of the Fines, there was a Fine of five hundred Livres laid on every one of the *Spaniſh* Companies. I hope this digreſſion will not appear tedious to you, and the rather becauſe you will ſoon ſee that it was a little neceſſary to open the matter of the Rebellion and Maſſacre in the *Valteline*.

In the year 1618. there was a report ſet about, that the *Spaniards* had a Treatie on foot to tear away the *Valteline* from the Leagues,

this was ſupported by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the Governour of *Milan* was building upon the Lake of *Como*, near the *Valteline*. There was one *Ganatz* a Miniſter, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that ſet on, and managed the rage of the Peaſants, and there was reaſon to ſuſpect ſome underhand dealing, tho he threw it which way he pleaſed. A Chamber of Juſtice was appointed to ſit at *Taſſane*, which is a conſiderable Town twelve miles from *Coire*, on the way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high and ſmall Hill, to which there is no acceſs but on one ſide, where there are yet the Ruines of a Caſtle and a Church, and which they believe was the Palace of *Rhetus* the firſt Prince of the Countrey: There was ſevere Juſtice done in this Chamber, a Prieſt was put to the Queſtion, and ſo ill uſed, that he died in it, which is a crying thing among them. The chief ſuſpicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being of one of the beſt Families of the *Griſons*, was then one of the Captains in the *Spaniſh* Regiment; he withdrew himſelf from the ſtorm, but the Peaſants led on by *Ganatz* purſued him ſo, that at laſt they found him and hewed him in pieces. *Ganatz* himſelf ſtriking the firſt ſtroke with an Ax, which was taken up and preſerved by his Friends, and four and twenty years after fifty or ſixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the ſame Ax, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their deſign by the ſame Tool with which their Friend was murthered. *Ganatz* had, during the Wars, aban-

abandoned both his Religion and Profeſſion, being indeed a diſgrace to both, and had ſerved firſt in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spaniſh* Troops. After the peace was made he became ſo conſiderable, being ſupported by the *Spaniſh* Faction, that he was choſen Governour of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a Diet, he being then in ſo important a Charge: but he was ſo much hated, that tho the murthering of a Magiſtrate in Office, and at a Publick Aſſembly, in ſo terrible a manner, ought to have been ſeverely puniſhed, yet no inquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man ſo much as queſtioned for it. In that Chamber many that were put to the Queſtion, confeſſed enough to hang them, ſome indured the Queſtion and eſcaped with the loſs of the uſe of their Arms. Thoſe of the *Valteline* have made uſe of this ſeverity, as that which gave the riſe to the Maſſacre, and it is very probable this might have drawn in ſome, that would have been otherwiſe more moderate; and that it did likewiſe precipitate that barbarous action: yet it was afterwards found out that the Plot had been formed long before, ſo that the induſtry and rage of the Prieſts managed by *Spaniſh* Emiſſaries, working upon the bigotry of the people was the real Cauſe, and this was only made uſe of as a Pretext to give ſome more plauſible colours to the Maſſacre, which was executed ſome months after this Chamber was diſſolved. It began while the Proteſtants were at Church, there were ſome hundreds deſtroyed, the reſt

got all up to the Mountains, and ſo eſcaped into the Countrey of the *Griſons*, and thoſe of *Chavennes* got likewiſe up to the Hills, for they are ſituated juſt at the bottom of them.

I ſhall not proſecute the reſt of that War, the *French* ſaw of what advantage it was to them not to let this Paſs from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*; ſo *Baſſompiere* was ſent to *Madrid*, and obtained a Promiſe, that all things ſhould be put in the ſame ſtate in which they were before the year 1618, but when that Order was ſent to the Governour of *Milan*, it was plain he had ſecret Orders to the contrary, for he refuſed to execute it; ſo a War followed, in which the *Griſons* found it was not eaſie for them to ſupport the Charge of it, without imploying the aſſiſtance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other intereſt in the Affairs of the *Valteline* than the preſervation of the Catholick Religion, and to ſhew their ſincerity, they put the Countrey into the Pope's hands, knowing that he could not preſerve it but by their aſſiſtance, nor reſtore it without ſecuring it from all change of Religion. The *French* willingly undertook the Cauſe of the *Griſons*, and becauſe the Duke of *Rohan* was like to be the moſt favourable General, as being of the Religion, he was ſent to command ſome Forces that marched thither: But he ſaw that if the *French* once made themſelves Maſters of the Paſſes of the Countrey, it would turn to their ruine,

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and finding the *Griſons* repoſed an intire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Inſtrument in that which he ſaw muſt be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* ſeeing the *French* ingage in the Quarrel, and fearing leſt they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſſes, offered to reſtore all the Territory in *Italy*, for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewiſe revolted, only the *Proteſtants* got away ſo quick upon the diſorders in the *Valteline*, that they prevented the rage of the Prieſts. The *Spaniards* ask'd theſe Conditions, that an *Amneſty* ſhould be granted for what was paſt, that there ſhould be no exerciſe of the *Proteſtant* Religion tolerated in the Country, and that even the Bailifs and other Magiſtrates of the Religion, that came to be ſent into their *Valteline*, ſhould have no exerciſe of the Religion, and as for other perſons, that none of the Religion might ſtay above ſix weeks at a time in the Countrey. The Duke of *Rohan* ſeeing that Conditions of ſo much advantage to the Leagues were offered to them, did underhand adviſe thoſe of the Religion to accept of them, at the ſame time that he ſeemed openly to oppoſe the Treaty ſet on foot on thoſe terms, and that he might get out of this Employment with the leſs diſhonour, he adviſed their clapping him up in Priſon till they had finiſhed their Treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this day own that they owe the preſervation of their Countrey to the wiſe advices of that great Man. Many that were of

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the Religion return to their Houſes and Eſtates, but the greateſt part fearing ſuch another Maſſacre, having ſince changed their Religion, others have ſold their Eſtates, and left the Countrey, ſome ſtay ſtill and go two or three hours journey to ſome of the Proteſtant Communities, where they have the exerciſe of the Religion: And tho they may not ſtay in the *Valteline* above ſix weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the Countrey once within that time, nor is that matter at preſent ſo ſeverely examined, ſo that there is a calm among them as to thoſe matters. But when it comes to the turn of the *Proteſtant* Communities to ſend one of the Religion to thoſe Employments, he is often much embaraſſed by the Biſhop of *Como*, to whoſe Dioceſs thoſe Territories belong, for if the Biſhop fancies that they do any thing contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, he excommunicates them, and tho this may appear a ridiculous thing, ſince they are already in a worſe ſtate for being Hereticks, yet it produces a very ſenſible effect, for the people that are extreamly ſuperſtitious, will not after that come near ſuch Magiſtrates, ſo that about three year ago a Bailif found himſelf obliged to deſire to be recalled, tho his time was not out, ſince being excommunicated he could no longer maintain the Government in his own Perſon.

Among the *Griſons* the *Roman* Law prevails, modified a little by their Cuſtoms: one that was a little particular was executed when

when I was there. A Man that hath an Eſtate by his Wife enjoyes it after her death as long as he continues a Widdower, but when he marries again he is bound to divide it among the Children that he had by her. The Juſtice is ſhort and ſimple, but it is oft thought that Bribes go here, tho but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The Married Women here do ſcarce appear abroad except at Church, but the young Women have more liberty before they are married. There is ſuch a plenty of all things by reaſon of the gentleneſs of the Government and the induſtry of the people, that in all the ten dayes in which I ſtaied at *Coire*, I was but once askt an Alms in the Streets. There are two Churches in *Coire*, in the one there is an Organ that joyns with their Voices in the ſinging of the Pſalms, and there was for the honour of the Diet, while we were there, an Anthem ſung by a ſet of Muſicians very regularly. In all the Churches both of *Switzerland* and the *Griſons*, except in this only, the Miniſter preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I obſerved a particular devotion uſed here in ſaying of the Lords Prayer, that the Miniſters who wear Caps, put them off when this was ſaid. The Women here, as in *Bern*, turn all to the *Eaſt* in time of Prayer, and alſo in their Private Devotions before and after the Publick Prayers: many alſo bow at the Name of *Jeſus*: They Chriſten diſcovering the whole head, and pouring the Water on the hind-head, uſing a true

true aſperſion, which is alſo the practice of the *Switzers.* It was matter of much edification to ſee the great numbers both here, and all *Switzerland* over, that come every day to Prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the Prayer a good interval of ſilence for the private devotions of the Aſſembly. The Schools here go not above *Latin*, *Greek* and *Logick*, and for the reſt they ſend their Children to *Zurich* or *Baſil.* The Clergy here are very meanly provided: For moſt part they have nothing but the benevolence of their People: They complained much to me of a great coldneſs in their People in the matters of Religion, and of a great corruption in their Morals: The Commons are extream inſolent, and many Crimes go unpuniſhed, if the perſons that commit them have either great Credit or much Money. The poor Miniſters here are under a terrible ſlavery; for the *Griſons* pretend that in all times they had not only the Patronage of their Churches, but a Power to diſmiſs their Church-men as they ſaw cauſe. How it is among the Papiſts I cannot tell, but the Dean of the Synod of *the Houſe of God* told me they had an ill Cuſtom of Ordaining their Miniſters without a Title, upon an Examination of their Qualifications and Abilities, which took them up generally ſix or ſeven hours, and when this Trial was thus diſpatched, if the perſon was found qualified they Ordained him, and it was too ordinary for thoſe that were thus Ordained to endeavour to undermine the Miniſters

niſters already in Emploiment, if their People grew diſguſted at them, or as they became diſabled by age, and often the intereſt and kindred of the Intruder, carried the matter againſt the Incumbent without any colour or pretence, and in that caſe the *Synode* was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Countrey they preach in high *Dutch*, and in the other half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romaniſh*, that is a mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every League they have a Synod, and as the people chuſe their Miniſters, ſo in imitation of the *Switzers* every *Synod* chuſes their *Antiſtes* or Superintendant, he is called the Dean among the *Griſons*, and hath a ſort of an Epiſcopal Power, but he is accountable to the *Synod*: The Office is for Life, but the *Synod* upon great Cauſe given may make a change. The People of this Countrey are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have ſome tincture of the *Italian* Temper. They are extream civil to Strangers, but it ſeems in all Common-wealths Inn-keepers think they have a right to exact upon Strangers, which one finds here as well as in *Holland* or in *Switzerland*.

I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay concerning the *Griſons* with a very extraordinary Story, which I had both from the Miniſters of *Coire* and ſeveral other Gentlemen, that ſaw in *April* 1685. about five hundred perſons of different Sexes and Ages that paſt through the Town, who gave this account of them-

themſelves. They were the Inhabitants of a Valley in *Tirol*, belonging for the greateſt part to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Saltsburg*, but ſome of them were in the Dioceſſes of *Trent* and *Breſſe*, they ſeemed to be a remnant of the old *Waldenſes*, they worſhipped neither Images nor Saints, and they believed the Sacrament was only a Commemoration of the death of Chriſt, and in many other points they had their peculiar opinious different from thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, they knew nothing neither of *Lutherans* nor *Calviniſts*; and the *Griſons*, tho their Neighbours, had never heard of this nearneſs of theirs to the *Proteſtant* Religion. They had Maſs ſaid among them, but ſome years ſince ſome of the Valley going over *Germany* to earn ſomewhat by their Labour, happened to go into the *Palatinate*, where they were better inſtructed in matters of Religion, and theſe brought back with them into the Valley the *Heidelberg* Catechiſme, together with ſome other *German* Books, which run over the Valley, and they being before that in a good diſpoſition, thoſe Books had ſuch an effect upon them, that they gave over going to Maſs any more, and began to worſhip God in a way more ſuitable to the Rules ſet down in Scripture, ſome of their Prieſts concurred with them in this happy Change, but others that adhered ſtill to the Maſs, went and gave the Archbiſhop of *Slatsburg* an account of it, upon which he ſent ſome into the Countrey to examine the Truth of the matter, to exhort

hort them to return to Maſs, and to threaten them with all ſeverity, if they continued obſtinate: ſo they ſeeing a terrible ſtorm ready to break upon them, reſolved to abandon their Houſes and all they had, rather than ſin againſt their Conſciences: and the whole Inhabitants of the Valley, old and young, Men and Women, to the number of two thouſand, divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies; ſome intended to go to *Brandenburgh*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the way of *Coire*, intending to diſperſe themſelves in *Switzerland*. The Miniſters told me they were much edified with their ſimplicity, and modeſty, for a Collection being made for them, they deſired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From *Coire* we went to *Toſſane*, and from that through the way that is juſtly called *Via Mala*. It is through a bottom between two Rocks, through which the *Rhine* runs, but under ground for a great part of the way: The way is cut out in the middle of the Rock in ſome places, and in ſeveral places, the ſteepneſs of the Rock being ſuch, that a way could not be cut out, there are beams driven into it; over which boards and earth are laid; this way holds an hour: And after that there is for two hours good way, and we paſt through two conſiderable Villages, there is good lodging in both; from thence there is for two hours journey terrible way, almoſt as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an hours journey good way to

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Splugen, which is a large Village of above two hundred Houſes that are well built, and the Inhabitants ſeem all to live at their eaſe, tho' they have no ſort of Soil but a little Meadow Ground about them; this is the laſt Proteſtant Church that was in our way, it was well Indowed, for the Proviſion of the Miniſter was near two hundred Crowns: Thoſe of this Village are the Carriers between *Italy* and *Germany*, ſo they drive a great Trade, for there is here a perpetual Carriage going and coming; and we are told that there paſs generally a hundred Horſes through this Town one Day with another; and there are above five hundred Carriage-horſe that belong to this Town. From this place we went mounting for three Hours till we got to the top of the Hills, where there is only one great Inn. After that the Way was tollerably good for two Hours, and for two Hours there is conſtant deſcent, which for the moſt part is as ſteep as if we were all the while going down Stairs: At the Foot of this is a little Village, called *Campdolcin*, and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vaſt difference of the Climate; for whereas we were freezing on the other ſide, the heat of the Sun was uneaſie here, and alſo by the number of the Beggars, tho' it may ſeem the reverſe of what one ought to expect, ſince the richeſt Countrey of *Europe* is full of Beggars; and the *Griſons* that are one of the pooreſt States have no Beggars at all. One thing is alſo ſtrange, that among the

the *Griſons*, the rich Wine of the *Valteline*, after it is carried three days journey, is ſold cheaper than the Wine of other Countries where it grows at the door: But there are no Taxes nor Impoſitions here. From *Campdolcin* there is three hours journey to *Chavenvennes*, all in a flow deſcent, and in ſome places the way is extream rugged and ſtony. *Chavennes* is very pleaſantly ſcituated at the very foot of the Mountains, there runs through the Town a pleaſant little River: It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich Vineyards about it, and the rebound of the Sun-beams from the Mountains, doth ſo increaſe the heats here, that the Soil is as rich here as in any place of *Italy*. Here one begins to ſee a Noble Architecture in a great many Houſes; in ſhort, all the marks of a rich Soil and a free Government appear here. The Town ſtood a little more to the North, about five hundred year ago; but a Slice of the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried it quite, and at the upper end of the Town there are ſome Rocks that look like Ruines; about which there hath been a very extraordinary expence to divide them one from another, and to make them fit places for Forts, and Caſtles: The marks of the Tools appeared all over the Rock in one place. I meaſured the breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty foot, the length is four hundred and fifty foot, and as we could gueſs the Rock was two hundred foot high, cut down on both ſides in a line as even as a wall,

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towards the top of one the name *Salvius* is cut in great Letters a little *Gothick*. On the tops of thoſe Rocks which are inacceſſible, except on the one ſide, and to that the aſcent is extream uneaſie, they had Garriſons during the Wars of *Valteline*: there were fifteen hundred in Garriſon in that which is in the middle: There falls down frequently ſlices from the Hills that do extreamly fatten the ground which they cover, ſo that it becomes fruitful beyond expreſſion, and I ſaw a Lime-Tree that was planted eight and thirty years ago, in a piece of ground which had been ſo covered, that was two fathom and a half of compaſs. On both ſides of the River, the Town and the Gardens belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom that lies between the Hills, and at the roots of the Mountains they dig great Cellars, and Grottoes, and ſtrike a hole about a foot ſquare, ten or twelve foot into the Hill, which all the Summer long blows a freſh Air into the Cellar, ſo that the Wine of thoſe Cellars drinks almoſt as cold as if it were in Ice; but this wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of *September*: For the Sun opening the pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that which is compreſſed within the Cavities that are in the Mountains, ruſhes out with a conſtant Wind; but when the operation of the Sun is weakned, this courſe of the Air is leſs ſenſible. Before or over thoſe Vaults they build little pleaſant rooms like Summer-houſes, and in

in them they go to collation generally at night in Summer. I never ſaw bigger Grapes than grow there, there is one ſort bigger than the biggeſt Damaſcene Plums that we have in *England.*

There is a ſort of Wine here and in the *Valteline*, which I never heard named any where elſe, that is called Aromatick-Wine, and as the taſte makes one think it muſt be a Compoſition, for it taſtes like a Strong-water drawn off Spices, ſo its ſtrength being equal to a weak Brandy, diſpoſes one to believe that it cannot be a natural Wine, and yet it is the pure Juice of the Grape without any mixture. The Liquor being ſingular, I informed my ſelf particularly of the way of preparing it: the Grapes are red, tho it drinks white, they let the Grapes hang on the Vines till *November*, that they are extream ripe, then they carry them to their Garrets, and ſet them all upright on their ends by one another for two or three Months, then they pick all the Grapes, and throw away thoſe in which there is the leaſt appearance of rottenneſs, ſo that they preſs none but ſound Grapes: after they are preſſed they put the Liquor in an open Veſſel, in which it throws up a ſcum, which they take off twice a day, and when no more ſcum comes up, which according to the difference of the ſeaſon is ſooner or later, for ſometimes the ſcum comes no more after eight days, and at other times it continues a fortnight, then they put it in a cloſe Veſſel; for the firſt year it is extream ſweet and luſcious, but at

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the end of the year they pierce it a little higher than the middle of the Veſſel, almoſt two thirds from the bottom, and drink it off till it cometh ſo low, and then every year they fill it up anew: once a year in the month of March it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a Month, but their other Wine ferments not at that time. Madam *Salis*, a Lady of that Countrey, who entertained us three days with a magnificence equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris*, had Wine of this Compoſition that was forty years old, and was ſo very ſtrong that one could hardly drink above a ſpoonful, and it taſted high of Spicery, though ſhe aſſured me there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatſoever. Thus the heat that is in this Wine, becomes a fire and diſtils it ſelf, throwing up the more ſpirituous parts of it to the top of the Hogs-head.

Both here, and in the *Griſons* the Meat is very juicy, the Fowl is excellent, their Roots and Herbs very taſteful, but the Fiſh of their Lakes is beyond any thing I ever ſaw. They live in a great ſimplicity, as to their habit and furniture, but they have plenty of all things, and are extream rich, the Family where we were ſo nobly entertained is believed to have about two hundred thouſand Crowns: here the *Italian* Cuſtome of one only of a Family that marries takes place generally. There is a ſort of Pots of Stone that is uſed, not only in all the Kitchins here, but almoſt all *Lombardie* over, called *Lavege*; the Stone feels

feels oily and ſcaly, ſo that a Scale ſticks to ones Finger that touches it, and is ſomewhat of the nature of a Slate, there are but three Mines of it known in theſe parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valteline*, and the third in the *Griſons*, but the firſt is much the beſt, they generally cut it in the Mine round, of about a foot and a half Diameter, and about a foot and a quarter thick, and they work it in a Mill, where the Chizzels that cut the Stone are driven about by a Wheel that is ſet a going by Water, and which is ſo ordered that he who manages the Chizzel, very eaſily draws forward the Wheel out of the courſe of the Water; they turn off firſt the outward coat of this Stone till it is exactly ſmooth, and then they ſeparate one Pot after another by thoſe ſmall and hooked Chizzels, by which they make a neſt of Pots all one within another, the outward and biggeſt being as big as an ordinary Beef-pot, and the inward Pot being no bigger than a ſmall Pipkin; theſe they arm with hooks and circles of braſs, and ſo they are ſerved by them in their Kitchins. One of theſe Stone Pots takes heat and boils ſooner than any Pot of Mettle; and whereas the bottoms of Mettle-pots tranſmit the heat ſo intirely to the Liquor within, that they are not inſufferably hot, the bottom of this Stone-pot which is about twice ſo thick as a Pot of Mettle, burns extreamly; it never cracks, neither gives it any ſort of taſte to the Liquor that is boiled in it, but if it falls to the ground it is very brittle, yet this is repaired

paired by patching it up, for they peece their broken Pots ſo cloſe, tho without any cement, by ſowing with Iron wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire there is not the leaſt breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The paſſage to this Mine is very inconvenient, for they muſt creep into it for near half a mile through a Rock that is ſo hard that the paſſage is not above three foot high, and ſo thoſe that draw out the Stones creep all along upon their belly, having a Candle faſtned in their forehead, and the Stone laid on a ſort of Cuſhion made for it upon their hips: The Stones are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned ſome falls of Mountains in thoſe parts, I cannot paſs by the extraordinary fate of the Town of *Pleurs*, that was about a League from *Chavennes* to the North in the ſame bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raiſed: The Town was half the bigneſs of *Chavennes*, the number of the Inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred perſons, but it was much more nobly built; for beſides the great Palace of the *Francken*, that coſt ſome millions, there were many other Palaces that were built by ſeveral rich Factors both of *Milan* and the other parts of *Italy*, who liked the ſcituation and air, as well as the freedom of the Government of this place, ſo they uſed to come hither during the heats, and here they gave themſelves all the indulgences that a vaſt wealth could furniſh

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By one of the Palaces that was a little diſtant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the reſt: It was an Out-houſe of the Family of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in *Italy*; and certainly, Houſe and Gardens could not coſt ſo little as one hundred thouſand Crowns. The Voluptuouſneſs of this place became very crying, and Madam *de Salis* told me that ſhe heard her Mother often relate ſome paſſages of a Proteſtant Miniſter's Sermons that preached in a little Church which thoſe of the Religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible Judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would ſuddenly break out upon them. On the 25*th* of *Auguſt* 1628. an Inhabitant came and told them to be gone, for he ſaw the Mountains cleaving, but he was laughed at for his pains: He had a Daughter whom he perſwaded to leave all and go with him, but when ſhe was gone out of Town with him, ſhe called to Mind that ſhe had not locked the Door of a Room in which ſhe had ſome things of Value, and ſo ſhe went back to do that, and was buried with the reſt; for at the hour of Supper the Hill fell down, and buried the Town and all the Inhabitants, ſo that not one Perſon eſcaped: The fall of the Mountains did ſo fill the Channel of the River, that the firſt News thoſe of *Chavennes* had of it was by the failing of their River, for three or four hours there came not a drop of Water, but the River wrought for it ſelf a new Courſe and returned

to them, I could hear no particular Character of the Man who eſcaped, ſo I muſt leave the ſecret reaſon of ſo ſingular a preſervation to the great diſcovery at the laſt day of thoſe ſteps of Divine Providence that are now ſo unaccountable. Some of the Family of the *Francken* got ſome Miners to work under ground to find out the Wealth that was buried in their Palace; for beſides their Plate and Furniture there was a great Caſh and many Jewels in the Houſe: The Miners pretended they could find nothing, but they went to their Countrey of *Tirol*, and built fine Houſes, and a great Wealth appeared, of which no other viſible account could be given but this, that they had found ſome of that Treaſure. The chief Factors of *Italy* have been *Griſons*, and they told me that as the Trade of Banking began in *Lombardy*, ſo that all *Europe* over a *Lombard* and a *Bank* ſignified the ſame thing, ſo the great Bankers of *Lombardy* were *Griſons*, and to this day the *Griſons* drive a great Trade in Money; for a Man there of a hundred thouſand Crowns Eſtate hath not perhaps a third part of this within the Countrey, but puts it out in the Neighbouring States: And the Liberty of the Countrey is ſuch, that the Natives when they have made up Eſtates elſewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy* and the beſt parts of *Germany*, and to come and live among thoſe Mountains, of which the very ſight is enough to fil a Man with horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two hours through a Plain to the Lake of *Chavennes*, which

which is almoſt round, and is about two Miles Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of *Como* over againſt the Fort *Fuentes*; when we paſſed there the Water was ſo low that the Boat could not eaſily get over a Bank that lay between the two Lakes. The Lake of *Como* is about eight and forty Miles long and four broad, it runs between two Ranges of Hills: I did not ſtay long enough in *Como* to give any deſcrption of it, for I thought to have returned that way from a little Turn that I made into the Bailiages that the *Switzers* have in *Italy*, of *Lugane*, *Locarmo* and *Bellinzona*: But I took another courſe, ſo I ſaw nothing in *Como*; the beſt thing in it is a fine Chappel, which the preſent Pope, who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight Miles to *Codelago*, which belongs to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight Miles of Lake: This Lake doth not run in an even current as the other Lakes that riſe under the Alps; but the ſcituation of the Hills about it throws it into ſeveral Courſes.

The *Switzers* have here ſeveral little Provinces or Bailiages, of which during the Wars of *Italy*, between the Dukes of *Milan* and the two Crowns, in *Francis* the Firſt, and *Charles* the Fifth's time, they poſſeſſed themſelves as a Pledge for payment of their Arrears, and they were then ſuch conſiderable Allies, that they made both the Competitors for the Dutchy of *Milan* court them by turns, and became the peaceable Poſſeſſors of almoſt all that Tract

that lies between the Lake of *Como* to the Countrey of the *Valeſſii* or the Valleys. The inhabitants here are ſo well uſed, they live ſo free of all Impoſitions, and the *Switzers* Government is ſo gentle, that here I muſt tell you another Paradox, this is the worſt Countrey, the leaſt productive, the moſt expoſed to cold, and the leaſt capable of Trade of all *Italy*, and yet it is by far the beſt Peopled of any that I ſaw in all *Italy*: There belongs to the Bailiage of *Lugane* alone Ninety-nine Villages, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of People. The twelve Antient *Cantons* have their turns of all the Bailiages and other Offices here: But when it comes to the turn of thoſe of the Religion, their Bailifs muſt be contented with Private Devotions in their own Houſes, but can have no Publick Exerciſes, not ſo much as a Miniſter in their Houſes. For here as in the *Valteline* when the *Spaniards* confirmed the right of the *Cantons* to thoſe Territories, they made an expreſs Proviſion, that no Religion except the Popiſh ſhould be tolerated here; ſo that the Bailif who is the Prince often hath not the free Liberty of his Religion in theſe Parts. The Bailifs here make their advantages as well as in the other parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more caution, for they take great care not to give the Natives any diſtaſte, tho the Miſeries to which they ſee all their Neighnours expoſed, and the abundance and Liberty in which they live, ſhould by all appearance deliver their Maſters from any great apprehenſions

ſions of a Revolt: A great many Mechanicks of all ſorts live in theſe parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all Taxes. I was told that ſome Nephews of Popes, in particular the *Barberines* had treated with the *Switzers* to buy this Countrey from them, and ſo to erect it into a Principality, and that they had reſolved to offer twelve thouſand Crowns to the twelve *Cantons*, but they found it would certainly be rejected, ſo they made not the Propoſition to the Diet of the *Cantons* as they once intended, and it is certain whenſoever this Countrey is brought under a Yoke like that which the reſt of *Italy* bears, it will be ſoon abandoned, for there is nothing that draws ſo many people to live in ſo ill a Soil, when they are in ſight of the beſt Soil of *Europe*, but the eaſineſs of the Government. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble Lake it is ſix any fifty Miles long, and in moſt place ſix Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the middle of it, it makes a great Bay to the Weſtward, and there lies here two Iſlands called the *Borromean* Iſlands, that are certainly the lovelieſt ſpots of ground in the World, there is nothing in all *Italy* that can be compared to them, they have the full view of the Lake, and the ground riſes ſo ſweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the Terraſſes here, they belong to two Counts of the *Borromean* Family. I was only in one of them which belongs to the head of the Fa-

milie, who is Nephew to the famous Cardinal, known by the name of S. *Carlo*: on the Weſt-end lies the Palace, which is one of the beſt of *Italy*, for the Lodgings within, tho the Architecture is but ordinary, there is one noble Apartment above four and twenty foot high, and there is a vaſt addition making to it, and here is a great Collection of noble Pictures beyond any thing I ſaw out of *Rome*: The whole Iſland is a Garden, except a little corner to the South ſet off for a Village of about forty little Houſes, and becauſe the Figure of the Iſland was not made regular by Nature, they have built great Vaults and Portico's along the Rock, which are all made Groteſque, and ſo they have brought it into a regular form by laying Earth over thoſe Vaults. There is firſt a Garden to the Eaſt that riſes up from the Lake by five rows of Terraſſes, on the three ſides of the Garden that are watered by the Lake, the Stairs are noble, the Walls are all covered with Oranges and Citrons, and a more beautiful ſpot of a Garden cannot be ſeen: There are two Buildings in the two corners of this Garden, the one is only a Mill for fetching up the Water, and another is a noble Summer-Houſe all Wainſcotted, if I may ſpeak ſo, with Alabaſter and Marble of a fine colour inclining to red, from this Garden one goes in a level to all the reſt of the Alleys and Parterres, Herb-Gardens and Flower-Gardens, in all which there are Varieties of Fountains and Arbors, but the great Parterre is a ſurpriſing thing, for as it is well furniſhed with

with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vaſt extent, and juſtly ſcituated to the Palace, ſo at the further end of it there is a great Mount, that face of it that looks to the Parterre is made like a Theatre all full of Fountains and Statues, the height riſing up in five ſeveral rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourſcore foot in front, and round this Mount, anſwering to the five rows into which the Theatre is divided, there goes as many Terraſſes of noble Walks, the Walls are all as cloſe covered with Oranges and Citrons as any of our Walls in *England* are with Laurel: the top of the Mount is ſeventy foot long and forty broad, and here is a vaſt Ciſtern into which the Mill plays up the Water that muſt furniſh all the Fountains: The Fountains were not quite finiſhed when I was there, but when all is finiſhed this place will look like an inchanted Iſland. The freſhneſs of the Air, it being both in a Lake and near the Mountains, the fragrant Smell, the beautiful Proſpect, and the delighting Variety that is here, makes it ſuch a Habitation for Summer, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Seſtio*, a miſerable Village at the end of the Lake, and here I began to feel a mighty change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifulleſt Countrey that can be imagined, the ground lies ſo even, it is ſo well watered, ſo ſweetly divided by rows of Trees incloſing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres compaſs, that it cannot be denied that here

is a vaſt extent of Soil above two hundred Miles long, and in many places a hundred Miles broad, where the whole Countrey is equal to the loveliest ſpots in all *England* or *France*, it hath all the ſweetneſs that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun and a better Air, the Neighbour-hood of the Mountains cauſe a freſhneſs of Air here, that makes the Soil the moſt deſirable place to live in that can be ſeen, if the Government were not ſo exceſſively ſevere, that there is nothing but Poverty over all this rich Countrey. A Traveller in many places finds almoſt nothing, and is ſo ill furniſhed, that if he doth not buy proviſions in the great Towns, he will be obliged to a very ſevere Diet, in a Countrey that he ſhould think flowed with Milk and Honey: But I ſhall ſay more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* diſcharges it ſelf in the River *Teſine*, which runs with ſuch a force that we went thirty Miles in three hours having but one Rower, and the Water was no way ſwelled. From this we went into the Channel which *Francis* the Firſt cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*, which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its Banks there are ſuch Proviſions to diſcharge the Water when it riſes to ſuch a height, that it can never be fuller of Water than is intended it ſhould be; it lies alſo ſo even, that ſometimes for ſix Miles together one ſees the Line ſo exact that there is not the leaſt crook: it is thirty Miles long, and is the beſt advantage that the Town of *Milan* hath for Water-carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long deſcription of this great City, which is one of the nobleſt in the World, to be an Inland Town, that hath no great Court, no Commerce either by Sea or any Navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very ſmall State; for that which is not Mountainous in this State, is not above ſixty Miles ſquare, and yet it produces a wealth that is ſurprizing: It pays for an Eſtabliſhment of ſeven and forty thouſand Men, and yet there are not ſixteen thouſand Souldiers effectively in it, ſo many are eat up by thoſe in whoſe hands the Government is Lodged: But the vaſtneſs of the Town, the Nobleneſs of the Buildings, and above all the ſurprizing Riches of the Churches and Convents are ſigns of great wealth: The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothick manner, but for the Vaſtneſs and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any in *Italy*, St. *Peters* it ſelf not excepted. It is all Marble; both Pavement, and Walls, both outſide and inſide, and on the top it is all flagg'd with Marble; and there is the vaſteſt number of Niches for Statues of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be ſeen. It is true the Statues in ſome of the Niches are not proportioned to the Niches themſelves; the Frontiſpiece is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with Statues and bas reliefs; and the Pillars, of which there are four Rows in the body of the Church, have each of them eight Niches at the top for ſo many Statues; and tho one would think this Church ſo full of Sta-

tues, that almoſt every Saint hath his Statue, yet I was aſſured they wanted ſeven thouſand to finiſh the deſign, but theſe muſt chiefly belong to the Frontiſpiece: the Church as I could meaſure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred foot long, and two hundred wide; the Quire is Wainſcotted and carved in ſo extraordinary a manner, that I never ſaw Paſſion ſo well expreſſed in Wood; it contains ſixty Stalls, and they have almoſt all the Hiſtories of the Golpel reprinted in them. Juſt under the *Cupulo* lies S. *Carlo's* body, as I was told, in a great caſe of Cryſtal of vaſt value, but I could not come near it; for we were there on two Holy-days, and there was a perpetual crowd about it; and the Superſtition of the people for his Body, is ſuch, that on a Holy-day one runs a hazzard that comes near it without doing ſome Reverence. His Canonization coſt the Town a hundred thouſand Crowns, they pretend they have Miracles too, for Cardinal *Frederigo Borromee*; but they will not ſet about his Canonization, the price is ſo high. The Plate and other Preſents made to St. *Carlo* are things of a prodigious value; ſome Services for the Altar are all of Gold, ſome very Maſſie and ſet with Jewels, others ſo finely wrought that the faſhion is thought equal to the value of the Mettle; the Habits and all the other Ornaments for the Function of his Canonization are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a Prelate of great Merit, and according to the Anſwer that a Fryar made to *Philip de Comines*, when he asked him how they came

came to qualifie one of the worſt of their Princes with the Title of Saint in an Inſcription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their Benefactors; never man deſerved of a Town this Title ſo juſtly as Cardinal *Borromee* did, for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his Family, but the Honour of having produced ſo great a man, which is a real temporal Inheritance to it, for as there have been, ſince that time, two Cardinals of that Family, ſo it is eſteemed a *Caſa Santa*; and every time that it produces an Eccleſiaſtick of any conſiderable Merit, he is ſure, if he lives to it, to be raiſed to this Arch-Biſhoprick, for if there were one of the Family capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might diſpoſe the State to a Rebellion, and he were a bold man that would adventure on a Competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome, and conſecrated it, tho the work will not be quite finiſhed yet for ſome Ages, that being one of the Crafts of the *Italian* Prieſts never to finiſh a great deſign, that ſo by keeping it ſtill in an unfiniſht Eſtate, they may be always drawing great Donatives to it, from the Superſtition of the people. He built the Arch-Biſhops Palace, which is very noble, and a Seminary, a Colledge for the *Switzers*, ſeveral Pariſh Churches, and many Convents. In ſhort, the whole Town is full of the Marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the Churches of *Milan* ſtrike one with amazement, the Building, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and eve-

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ry thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are all ſigns both of great Wealth and of a very powerful Superſtition, but their Libraries, not only here, but all *Italy* over, are ſcandalous things; the Room is often fine, and richly adorned, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worſe choſen, and the ignorance of the Prieſts, both Secular and Regular, is ſuch, that no man that hath not had an occaſion to diſcover it, can eaſily believe it. The Convent of St. *Victor* that is without the Town, is by much the richeſt, it is compoſed of Canons Regular; called in *Italy* the Order of Mount *Olive*, or *Olivetan*; that of the *Barnabites* is extream rich, there is a Pulpit and a Confeſſional all inlaid with Agates of different colours, finely ſpotted Marbles, and of *Lapis Lazulis* that are thought almoſt ineſtimable. St. *Laurence* has a noble *Cupulo*, and a Pulpit of the ſame form with that of the *Barnabites*. The *Jeſuits*, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and St. *Sebaſtians* are very rich. The Cittadel is too well known to need a deſcription, it is very regularly built, and is a moſt effectual reſtraint to keep the Town in order, but it could not ſtand out againſt a good Army three days; for it is ſo little, and ſo full of Buildings, that it could not reſiſt a ſhower of Bombs. The Hoſpital is indeed a Royal Building, I was told it had ninety thouſand Crowns Revenue: the old Court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot ſquare, and there are three rows of Corridors or Galleries all round the Court,

Court, one in every Stage according to the *Italian* manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a Gallery before every door: It is true theſe take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten foot broad; but then here is an open ſpace that is extream cool on that ſide where the Sun doth not lie, for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only ſupported by Pillars, at the diſtance of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. In this Hoſpital there are not only Galleries full of Beds on both ſides, as is Ordinary in all Hoſpitals; but there are alſo a great many Chambers, in which perſons whoſe condition was formerly diſtinguiſhed are treated with a particular care. There is an out-houſe which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the Walls, which belongs to this Hoſpital, it is an exact quarter of a mile ſquare, and there are three hundred and ſixty Rooms in it, and a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers, ſo that as the ſervice is convenient, the ſick have a covered walk before their Doors. In the middle of this vaſt ſquare there is an Octangular Chappel, ſo contrived that the ſick from all their Beds may ſee the elevation of the Hoſt, and adore it: This Houſe is for the Plague or for infectious Feavers, and the Sick that want a freer Air, are alſo removed hither.

As for the devotions of this place, I ſaw here the *Ambroſian* Office, which is diſtinguiſhed from the *Roman*, both in the Muſick which is much ſimpler, and in ſome other Rites: the

Goſpel

Goſpel is read in a high Pulpit at the lower end of the Quire, ſo that it may be heard by all the people, tho this is needleſs, ſince it is read in a language that they do not underſtand: when they go to ſay high Maſs, the Prieſts come from the high Altar to the lower end of the Quire, where the Offertory of the Bread and the Wine is made by ſome of the Laity, they were Nuns that made it when I was there, I heard a Capucin Preach here: It was the firſt Sermon I heard in *Italy*, and I was much ſurprized at many Comical expreſſions and geſtures, but moſt of all with the concluſion; for there being in all the Pulpits of *Italy* a Crucifix on the ſide of the Pulpit towards the Altar; he, after a long addreſs to it, at laſt in a forced tranſport, took it in his Arms and hugged it and kiſſed it: But I obſerved that before he kiſſed it; he ſeeing ſome duſt on it, blew it off very carefully, for I was juſt under the Pulpit: He entertained it with a long and tender careſs, and held it out to the people, and would have forced tears both from himſelf and them, yet I ſaw none ſhed. But if the Sermon in the morning ſurprized me, I wondred no leſs at two diſcourſes that I heard in one Church, at the ſame time, in the afternoon: for there were two Bodies of Men ſet down in different places of the Church all covered, and two Laymen in ordinary habits were entertaining them with diſcourſes of Religion in a Catechetical ſtile: Theſe were Confrairies, and thoſe were ſome of the more devout that inſtructed the reſt. This I never ſaw any where elſe, ſo I

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do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan* or not. My Conductor could not ſpeak Latin, and the *Italian* there is ſo different from the true *Tuſcan* which I only knew, that I could not underſtand him when he was ingaged in a long diſcourſe, ſo I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think it might have been ſome inſtitution of Cardinal *Borromees.* The *Ambroſian* Library founded by Cardinal *Frederick Borromee* is a very noble Room and well furniſhed, only it is too full of School-men and Canoniſts, which are the chief Studies of *Italy*, and it hath too few Books of a more ſolid and uſeful Learning. One part of the diſpoſition of a Room was pleaſant, there is a great number of Chairs placed all round it at a competent diſtance from one another, and to every Chair there belongs a Desk with an Eſcritoire that hath Pen, Ink, and Paper in it, ſo that every Man finds tools here for ſuch extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of Manuſcripts at the end of the great Gallery, but the Library-keeper knows little of them, a great many of them relate to their Saint *Charles.* I ſaw ſome fragments of *Latin* Bibles, but none ſeemed to be above ſix hundred years old, there are alſo ſome fragments of Saint *Ambroſe*'s Works, and of Saint *Jerom*'s Epiſtles that are of the ſame antiquity. I was ſorry not to find Saint *Ambroſe*'s Works intire, that I might have ſeen whether the Books of the Sacraments are aſcribed to him in ancient Copies, for perhaps they belong to a more modern Author. It is

true

true in theſe Books the Doctrine of a ſort of a corporal preſence is aſſerted in very high expreſſions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is ſtronger againſt it, than all thoſe Citations can be for it; for the Author gives us the formal words of the Prayer of Conſecration in his time, which he prefaces with ſome ſolemnity: will you know how the change is wrought, hear the Heavenly words? For the Prieſt ſaith, but whereas in the preſent Canon of the Maſs, the Prayer of Conſecration is for a good part of it very near in the ſame words with thoſe which he mentions, there is one eſſential difference, for in the Canon they now pray that the Hoſty may be to them the Body and Blood of Chriſt, (which by the way doth not agree too well with the Notion of Tranſubſtantiation, and approacheth more to the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*:) whereas in the Prayer, cited by that Author, the Hoſty is ſaid to be the Figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt: here is the Language of the whole Church of that time, and in the moſt important part of the Divine Office, which ſignifieth more to me than a thouſand Quotations out of particular Writers, which are but their private Opinions: but this is the voice of the whole Body in its Addreſſes to God: and it ſeems the Church of *Rome*, when the new Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence was received, ſaw that this Prayer of Conſecration could not conſiſt with it, which made her change ſuch a main part of the Office. This gave me a curioſity every where to ſearch for ancient Offices,

Offices, but I found none in the Abbey of St. *Germains* that ſeemed older than the times of *Charles* the Great; ſo I found none of any great Antiquity in all *Italy*: Thoſe publiſhed by Cardinal *Bona*, and ſince by *P. Mabillon*, that were brought from *Heidelberg*, are the moſt ancient that are in the *Vatican*; but theſe ſeem not to be above eight hundred years old: There are none of the ancient *Roman* Offices now to be ſeen in the *Vatican*. I was amazed to find none of any great Antiquity; which made me conclude that either they were deſtroyed, that ſo the difference between Ancient and Modern Rituals might not be turned againſt that Church, as an undeniable Evidence to prove the Changes that ſhe hath made in Divine Matters, or that they were ſo well kept, that Hereticks were not to be ſuffered to look into them. But to return to the *Ambroſian* Library, there is in it a Manuſcript of great Antiquity, tho not of ſuch great conſequence, which is *Ruffinus*'s Tranſlation of *Joſephus*, that is written in the old *Roman* hand, which is very hard to be read. But there is a Deed in the curious Collection that Count *Maſcado* hath made at *Verona*, which by the date appears to have been written in *Theodoſius*'s time, which is the ſame ſort of writing with the Manuſcript of *Ruffinus*, ſo that it may be reckoned to have been writ in *Ruffinus* his own time, and this is the moſt valuable, tho the leaſt known Curioſity in the whole Library.

I need not ſay any thing of the curious works in

in Cryſtal that are to be ſeen in *Milan*; the greateſt quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought here; but this is too well known to need any further inlargement. It is certain the *Alps* have much Wealth ſhut up in their Rocks, if the Inhabitants knew how to ſearch for it: But I heard of no Mines that were wrought, except *Iron* Mines; yet by the colourings, that in many places, the Fountains make, as they run along the Rocks, one ſees cauſe to believe that there are Mines and Minerals ſhut up within them. *Gold* hath been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The laſt Curioſity that I ſhall mention of the Town of *Milan* is the Cabinet of the *Chanoine Settala*, which is now in his Brothers hands, where there are a great many very valuable things both of Art and Nature: there is a lump of Ore, in which there is both *Gold* and *Silver* and *Emeralds*, and *Diamonds*, which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious motions, where by an unſeen Spring, a Ball, after it hath rowled down through many winding deſcents, is thrown up, and ſo it ſeems to be a perpetual motion, this is done in ſeveral forms, and it is well enough diſguiſed to deceive the Vulgar. Many motions of little Animals that run about by Springs are alſo very pretty. There is a *Loadſtone* of a vaſt force that carries a great Chain: There is alſo a monſtrous Child that was lately born in the Hoſpital, which is preſerved in Spirit of Wine: it is double below, it hath one breaſt and neck, two pair of ears, a

vaſt

vaſt head and but one face. As for the Buildings in *Milan* they are big and ſubſtantial, but they have not much regular or beautiful Architecture: The Governours Palace hath ſome noble Apartments in it: The chief Palace of the Town is that of the *Homodei*, which was built by a Banker. There is one inconvenience in *Milan*, which throws down all the pleaſure that one can find in it: they have no Glaſs-windows, ſo that one is either expoſed to the Air, or ſhut up in a Dungeon: and this is ſo univerſal, that there is not one Houſe of ten that hath Glaſs in their Windows: the ſame defect is in *Florence*, beſides all the ſmall Towns of *Italy*, which is an effect of their Poverty: For what by the oppreſſion of their Government, what by the no leſs ſqueezing oppreſſion of their Prieſts, who drain all the reſt of their Wealth that is not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Churches and Convents, the people are here reduced to a Poverty that cannot be eaſily believed by one that ſees the Wealth that is in their Churches; and this is going on ſo conſtantly in *Milan*, that it is ſcarce accountable from whence ſo vaſt a Treaſure can be found; but Purgatory is a Fond not eaſily exhauſted. The Wealth of the *Milaneſes* conſiſts chiefly in their Silks, and that Trade falls ſo mightily by the vaſt Importations that the *Eaſt-India* Companies bring into *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very ſenſibly, and languiſhes extreamly by the great fall that is in the Silk-Trade: There is a great magnificence in *Milan*; the Nobility affect to make a noble appearance both in their Cloaths, their Coaches,

Coaches, and their Attendants; and the Women go abroad with more freedom here than in any Town of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am

Yours.

Poſtſcript.

In the account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary perſon that is there, Miſtriſs *Walkier*; her Father is of *Shaff-houſe*, ſhe loſt her ſight when ſhe was but a year old, by being too near a ſtove that was very hot: There reſts in the upper part of her eye ſo much ſight, that ſhe diſtinguiſhes day from night: and when any perſon ſtands between her and the light, ſhe will diſtinguiſh by the head and its dreſs a Man from a Woman, but when ſhe turns down her eyes ſhe ſees nothing: ſhe hath a vaſt Memory; beſides the *French* that is her natural Language, ſhe ſpeaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*, ſhe hath all the *Pſalms* by heart in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: She underſtands the Old Philoſophy well, and is now ſtudying the New: She hath ſtudied the Body of Divinity well, and hath the Texts of the Scriptures very ready: On all which Matters I had long converſations with her; ſhe not only ſings well, but ſhe plays rarely on the *Organ*; and I was told ſhe played on the *Violin*, but her *Violin* was out of order. But that which is moſt of all, is, ſhe writes legibly: In order to her learning to write, her Father who is a worthy man, and hath ſuch Tenderneſs for her, that he furniſheth

niſheth her with Maſters of all ſorts, ordered Letters to be carved in Wood, and ſhe by feeling the Characters formed ſuch an Idea of them, that ſhe writes with a Crayon ſo diſtinctly, that her writing can be well read, of which I have ſeveral Eſſaies. I ſaw her write, ſhe doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; ſhe hath a Machine that holds the paper, and keeps her always in line. But that which is above all the reſt, ſhe is a perſon of extraordinary Devotion, great reſignation to the Will of God, and a profound humility: The Preceptor that the Father kept in the Houſe with her, hath likewiſe a wonderful faculty of acquiring Tongues. When he came firſt to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zurich*) he ſpoke not a word of *French*, and within thirteen Months he Preacht in *French* correctly, and with a good accent: He alſo began to ſtudy *Italian* in the Month of *November*, and before the end of the following *February* he Preacht in *Italian*; his Accent was good, and his Stile florid, which was very extraordinary, for the *Italian* Language is not ſpoken in *Geneva*, tho' the race of the *Italians* do keep up ſtill an *Italian* Church there.

The

THE THIRD LETTER.

Florence, the 5*th* of *November*.

I Have now another Month over my head ſince I writ laſt to you, and ſo I know you expect an Account of the moſt conſiderable things that have occurred to me ſince my laſt from *Milan*. Twenty Miles from *Milan* we paſt through *Lodi* a miſerable Garriſon, tho' a Frontier Town; but indeed the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as thoſe of the other Princes of *Italy*, ſhew that they are not very apprehenſive of one another; and when one paſſes through thoſe places, which are repreſented in Hiſtory as places of great ſtrength, capable of reſiſting a long Siege, he muſt acknowledge that the ſight of them, brings the Idea that he had conceived of them, a great many degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was ſo long the ſeat of War could not ſtand out againſt a good Army now for ſo many days, as it did then for years. The Garriſon of *Crema* which is the firſt of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than that of *Lodi*,

di, only the People in the *Venetian* Dominion live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The Senate ſends Podeſta's much like the Bailifs of the *Switzers*, who order the Juſtice and the Civil Government of the Juriſdiction aſſigned them: There is alſo a Captain General who hath the Military Authority in his hands; and theſe two are checks upon one another, as the Baſſa's and the Cadi's are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema* the Town is ſo ſmall that both theſe are in one perſon. We were there in the time of the Fair, Linnen Cloath and Cheeſe, (which tho' it goes by the name of *Parmeſan*, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Ingredients of the Fair. The magnificence of the *Podeſta* appeared very extraordinary, for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches in which he and his Lady ride were both extraordinary rich: his was a huge Bed-Coach, all the outſide black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowred with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Breſcia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth, here they make the beſt Barrils for Piſtols and Muskets of all *Italy*: there are great Iron works near it: but the War with the *Turk* had occaſioned an order that none might be ſold without a permiſſion from *Venice*: They are building a Noble Dom at *Beſcia*: I was ſhewed a Nunery there, which is now under a great diſgrace, ſome years ago a new Biſhop coming thither, began with the Viſitation of that

that Nunnery: he diſcovered two Vaults, by one, men came ordinarily into it: and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay in of Childbed: when he was examining the Nuns ſeverely concerning thoſe Vaults, ſome of them told him, that his own Prieſts did much worſe: He ſhut up the Nuns, ſo that thoſe who are Profeſſed live ſtill there, but none come to take the Vail: and by this means the houſe will ſoon come to an end: The Cittadel lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it abſolutely. Both here and in *Crema* the Towns have begun a Complement within theſe laſt ten or twelve years to their *Podeſta*'s, which is a matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a vaſt charge, for they erect Statues to their *Podeſta*'s: and this being once begun, muſt be carried on: otherwiſe thoſe to whom the like honour is not done will reſent it as a high affront, and the Revenges of the Noble *Venetians*, are dreadful things to their Subjects. This name of *Podeſta* is very ancient, for in the Roman times, the chief Magiſtrates of the leſſer Towns was called the *Poteſtas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal Fidenarum Gabiorumve eſſe poteſtas.*

From *Breſcia* the beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted, for as all the way from *Milan* to *Breſcia* is as one Garden, ſo here on the one ſide we come under the Mountains, and we paſs by the Lake of *Guarda*, which is forty miles long, and where it is broadeſt, is twenty Miles broad: The Miles indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extream ſhort, for I walkt often four

four or five Miles in a walk, and I found a thouſand paces made their common mile; but in *Tuſcany* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the mile is fifteen hundred paces. We paſs through a great Heath for ſeven or eight miles on this ſide of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vaſt Town, and much of it well built; there are many Rich Churches in it: but there is ſo little Trade ſtirring, and ſo little Mony going, that it is not eaſie here to change a Piſtol, without taking their Coin of baſe alloy, which doth not paſs out of the *Veroneſe*: for this ſeems a ſtrange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to ſuffer thoſe ſmall States to retain ſtill a Coin peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the Amphitheater, one of the leaſt of all that the *Romans* built, but the beſt preſerved, for tho' moſt of the great ſtones of the outſide are pickt out: yet the great ſloping Vault on which the rows of the ſeats are laid, is entire, the rows of the ſeats are alſo intire, they are forty rows, every row is a foot and half high, and as much in breadth, ſo that a man ſits conveniently in them, under the feet of thoſe of the higher row; and allowing every man a foot and a half, the whole *Amphitheater* can hold twenty three thouſand Perſons. In the Vaults: under the rows of ſeats were the ſtalls of the Beaſts that were preſented to entertain the Company: The thickneſs of the building, from the outward Wall to the loweſt row of ſeats, is ninety foot: But this Noble remnant of Antiquity, is ſo often and ſo

copiouſly deſcribed that I will ſay no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Muſeum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the Count *Maſcardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of Rooms all furniſht with Antiquities and Rarities: There are ſome old Inſcriptions made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the honour of M. *Craſſus*: There is a great Collection of Medals and Medaillons, and of the Roman Weights with their Inſtruments for their Sacrifices, there are many Curioſities of Nature, and a great Collection of Pictures, of which many are of *Paulo Veroneſe*'s hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona* that riſeth up in Terraſſes the whole height of a Hill, in which there are many Ancient Inſcriptions, which belongs to Count *Giuſto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza* which is thirty Miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*, for there is all the way as it were a Succeſſion of Gardens, the ground is better cultivated here than I ſaw it any other Place of *Italy*: But the Wine is not good, for at the Roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine which grows up winding about the Tree to which it joyns; but the Soil is too Rich to produce a rich Wine, for that requires a dry ground: There is near the Lake of *Guarda* a very extraordinary Wine which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the beſt ſort of Canary, it is not made till Chriſtmaſs, and from thence it carries the name of Holy Wine, and it is not to be drunk till Midſummer, for it is ſo long before it is quite wrought clear, but I have not marked

marked down how long it may be kept: we had it there for a Groat an *Engliſh* quart, I wondred that they did not Trade with it. All the Cattel of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their Hogs are black, except in the *Bologneſe*, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the Reaſons of theſe things: it is certain Hogs-Fleſh in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England*, whether the Truffs on which they feed much in Winter, occaſion this or not, I know not, the Husks of the preſſed Grapes is alſo a mighty nouriſhment to them; but Cattel of that Grayiſh Colour are certainly weaker: The carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them, and this is a very hard Work in *Lombardy* when it hath rained ever ſo little, for the ground being quite level, and there being no raiſed high-waies or Cauſe-waies, the Carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath ſtill more of its Ancient liberty reſerved than any of theſe Towns, as *Padua* hath leſs, for it delivered it ſelf to the *Venetians*, whereas the other diſputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one ſees the Marks of liberty in *Vincenza* in the Riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are newly built: They have a Modern Theater made in imitation of the Ancient *Roman* Theaters. Count *Valarano's* Garden at the Port of *Verona*, is the fineſt thing of the Town, there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, ſome as big as a mans body, but thoſe are covered all the Winter long, for in this appears the ſenſible difference of

Lombardy from thoſe parts of *Italy* that lye to the South of the *Apenins*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great boxes, as we do in *England*, that ſo they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the breeſes that blow ſometimes ſo ſharp from the Alps, that otherwiſe they would kill thoſe delicate Plants: whereas in *Tuſcany* they grow as other Trees in their Gardens, and in the Kingdom of *Naples* they grow wild without any care or cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holy-day, and there I ſaw a preparation for a Proceſſion that was to be in the Afternoon: I did not wonder at what a *French* Papiſt ſaid to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was ſo groſs. The Statue of the Virgin was of Wood ſo finely painted that I thought the head was Wax, it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was ſet full of Flowers: how they did when it was carried about I do not know; but in the morning all people run to it and ſaid their Prayers to it, and kiſſed the ground before it with all the appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* is is eighteen miles to *Padua* all like a Garden: here one ſees the decays of a vaſt City, which was once one of the bigeſt of all *Italy*; the compaſs is the ſame that it was, but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and Houſes there go almoſt for nothing, the Air is extream good, and there is ſo great a plenty of all things except Mony, that a little Mony goes a great Way. The Univerſity here

here, tho' ſo much ſupported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty Profeſſors, yet ſinks extreamly: there are no men of any great fame now in it: and the quarrels among the ſtudents have driven away moſt of the ſtrangers that uſed to come and ſtudy here, for it is not ſafe to ſtir abroad here after Sun ſet: The number of the Palaces here is incredible, and tho the Nobility of *Padua* is almoſt quite ruined, yet the beauty of their Ancient Palaces ſhews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all thoſe conquered Cities continue ſtill among them, for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their revenges afterwards, both comes under the Bando by this means, and the Confiſcation goes to the Senate. At ſome times of Grace when the Senate wants money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty perſons are incredible. In *Vincenza* and the Country that belongs to it, I was aſſured by *Monſieur Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a Profeſſor in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thouſand pardoned at the laſt Grace; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The Nobility of *Padua* and of the other Towns ſeem not to ſee what a profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families: for one Family in the ſame mans time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thouſand Ducats Revenue to leſs than three thouſand, by its falling at ſeveral times

under the bando: But their jealouſies and their Revenges are purſued by them with ſo much vigor, that when theſe are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the Amphitheater, tho' nothing but the outward Wall ſtands: There is here, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the City, and an outward, without that, called the *Burgo*; but tho there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in compaſs; it lies almoſt round: The publick Hall is the Nobleſt of *Italy*: The Dome is an Antient and Mean Building: But the Church of St. *Anthony*, eſpecially the Holy Chappel in it where the Saint lies, is one of the beſt pieces of Modern Sculpture: for round the Chappel the chief Miracles in the Legend of that Saint are repreſented in *Mezzo Rilievo*, in a very ſurprizing Manner: The Devotion that is paid to this Saint, all *Lombardy* over, is amazing: he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his ſake: But among the little Vows that hang without the Holy Chappel, there is one that is the higheſt pitch of Blaſphemy that can be imagined, *Exaudit*, ſpeaking of the Saint; *quos nos audit & ipſe Deus*, he hears thoſe whom God himſelf doth not hear. St. *Juſtina* is a Church ſo well ordered within, the Architecture is ſo beautiful, it is ſo well inlightned, and the *Cupulos* are ſo advantageouſly placed, that if the outſide anſwered the inſide, it would be one of the beſt Churches of *Italy*, but the Building is of Brick,

and

and it hath no Frontiſpiece, there are many new Altars made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abby hath a hundred thouſand Ducats of Revenue, and ſo by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine* Order. Cardinal *Barberigo* is Biſhop here, he ſeems to ſet St. *Carlo* before him as his Pattern, he hath founded a Noble Seminary for the Secular Prieſts; he lives in a conſtant Diſcipline himſelf, and endeavours to reform his Clergy all he can; but he is now in ill Terms with his Canons, who are all Noble *Venetians*, and ſo allow themſelves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged: he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all Reſpects a very extraordinary man.

In the *Venetian* Territory their Subjects live eaſie and happy, if they could be ſo wiſe as to give over their Quarrels, but tho' the Taxes are not high, they oppreſs their Tenants ſo ſeverely, that the Peaſants live moſt miſerably, yet on all hands round about them, the oppreſſions being more intollerable, they know not whither to go for eaſe, whereas on the contrary, the Miſeries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, ſend in an increaſe of People among them, ſo that they are well ſtockt with People, but the *Venetians* are ſo jealous of their Subjects underſtanding Military matters, which may diſpoſe them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars, this jealouſie is the true ground of that Maxim, tho another is pretended that is more plauſible, which is, their care of

their own people, whom they ſtudy to preſerve, and therefore they hire Strangers rather than expoſe their Subjects. It is certain a revolt here were no hard matter to effectuate, for the Garriſons and Fortifications are ſo ſlight, that thoſe great Towns could eaſily ſhake off their yoke, if it were not for the Factions that ſtill reign among them, by which one Party would chuſe rather to expoſe the other to the rigor of the Inquiſitors, than concur with them in aſſerting their Liberty, and the Inquiſitors in ſuch Caſes proceed ſo ſecretly, and yet ſo effectually, that none dares truſt another with a Secret of ſuch conſequence, and the oppreſſed Nobility of thoſe States retain ſtill ſo much of their old and unſubdued inſolence, and treat ſuch as are under them ſo cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as ſecure in thoſe Conqueſts, as if they had many ſtrong Cittadels and numerous Garriſons ſpread up and down among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many Palaces of the Noble *Venetians* on both ſides of the River, built with ſo great a variety of Architecture, that there is not one of them like another, there is alſo the like diverſity in the laying out of their Gardens, and here they retire during the hot Months, and ſome allow themſelves all the Exceſſes of diſſolute liberty that can poſſibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina* which is at the mouth of the *Brent*, we paſs for five or ſix Miles on the Lagunes or ſhallows to *Venice*, theſe ſhallows

ſink

ſink of late ſo much, that the preſerving *Venice* ſtill an Iſland, is like to become as great a charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the Sea is to the *Dutch*; for they uſe all poſſible induſtry to cleanſe the Channels of their Lagunes, and keep them full of water: and yet many think that the Water hath failed ſo much in this laſt Age, that if it continues to abate at the ſame rate, within an Age or two more *Venice* may become a part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the moſt ſurprizing ſight in the whole World, to ſee ſo vaſt a City, ſcituated thus in the Sea and ſuch a number of Iſlands ſo united together by Bridges brought to ſuch a regular figure, the *Pilotty* ſupplying the want of Earth to Build on, and all ſo Nobly Built, which is of all the things that one can ſee the moſt amazing. And tho this Republick is much ſunk from what it was, both by the great loſſes they have ſuffered in their Wars with the *Turks*, and by the great decay of Trade, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vaſt plenty of all things in this place. I will not offer to deſcribe neither the Church nor the Palace of S. *Mark*, which are too well known to need a long digreſſion to be made for them, the Painting of the Walls and the roofs of the Halls, and publick Rooms in the Palace, are of vaſt value: Here I ſaw that Story of Pope *Alexander* the III. treading on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*. The nobleneſs of the Stair-caſes, the riches of the Halls, and the beauty of the whole

building, are much prejudiced by the beaſtlineſs of thoſe that walk along, and that leave their Marks behind them, as if this were rather a common Houſe of Office, than ſo Noble a Palace: And the great Hall, where the whole Body of the Nobility meet, in the Great Council, hath nothing but the Roof and Walls that Anſwers to ſuch an Aſſembly; for the Seats are liker the Benches of an Auditory of Scholars, than of ſo Glorious a Body. When the two ſides of this Palace are built as the third, which is the moſt hid, it will be one of the glorioufeſt Palaces that the World can ſhew. The two ſides that are moſt ſeen, the one facing the ſquare of St. *Mark*, and the other the great Canale, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble; but the War of *Candy* put a ſtop to the building. St. *Mark's* Church hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vaſt Riches of the building, it is dark and low, but the Pavement is ſo rich a Moſaick, and the whole Roof is alſo Moſaick; the outſide, and inſide, are of ſuch excellent Marble, the frontiſpiece is adorned with ſo many Pillars of *Porphiry* and *Jaſper*, and above all with the four Horſes of *Corinthian* Braſs, that *Tirridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Conſtantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the gilding is ſtill very bright, that when all this is conſidered one doth no where ſee ſo much coſt brought together. I did not ſee the Goſpel of St. *Mark*,

Mark, which is one of the valuableſt things of the Treaſure; but they do not now open it to ſtrangers, yet Doctor *Grandi*, a famous Phyſitian there, told me that, by a particular order, he was ſuffered to open it; he told me it was all writ in Capital Letters, but the Characters were ſo worn out, that tho he could diſcern the ends of ſome Letters, he could not ſee enough to help him to diſtinguiſh them or to know whether the *M. S.* was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not ſay one word of the Arſenal, for as I ſaw it in its worſt State, the War that is now on foot having diſfurniſhed a great deal of it, ſo it hath been often deſcribed, and it is known to be the Nobleſt Magazine, the beſt ordered, and of the greateſt variety that is in the whole World: it's true it is all that this State hath, ſo that if the Magazines of other Princes, which lie ſpread up and down in the different places of their Dominions were gathered together, they would make a much greater ſhew. The Nobleſt Convent of *Venice* is that of the *Dominicans*, called St. *John*, and St. *Paul*, the Church, and Chappels are vaſtly Rich: There is one of St. *Luke*'s *Madona*'s here as they pretend; the Dormitory is very great; the Room for the Library, and every thing in it, except the Books, is extream fine. But St. *George*, which is a Convent of the *Benedictines* in an Iſle intirely poſſeſſed by them over againſt the St. *Marks* ſquare, is much the richeſt: the Church is well contrived and well adorned: and not only the

whole

whole Building is very magnificent, but which is more extraordinary at *Venice*, they have a large Garden, and noble Walks in it. The *Redemptore*, and the *Salute* are two Noble Churches that are the Effects of Vows that the Senate made when they were afflicted with the Plague, the latter is much the finer, it is to the Virgin, and the other is only to our Saviour: ſo naturally doth the Devotion of that Church carry it higher for the Mother than the Son: It is true, the *Salute* is later than the other, ſo no wonder if the Architecture, and the Riches exceed that which is more Ancient. The School of Saint *Roch*, and the Chappel, and Hall, are full of great pieces of Tintorets: a *Cena* of *Paulo Veroneſe* in the Refectory of St. *George*, and the Picture of St. *Peter* the Martyr of *Titians*, are the moſt celebrated pieces of *Venice*: Duke *Peſaro*'s Tomb in the Frairy is the Nobleſt I ever ſaw. But if the Riches of all the Convents, and the Pariſh Churches of *Venice* amazed me, the Fronts eſpecially, many of which are of white Marble, beautified with ſeveral Statues; the meanneſs of the Library of St. *Mark* did no leſs ſurprize me. There are in the Antichamber to it, Statues of vaſt value, and the whole Roof of the Library is compoſed of ſeveral pieces of the greateſt Maſters put in ſeveral Frames: but the Library hath nothing anſwerable to the Riches of the Caſe, for the *Greek* Manuſcripts are all Modern, I turned over a great many, and ſaw none above five hundred years old:

I was indeed told that the laſt Library-keeper was accuſed for having conveyed away many of their Manuſcripts; and that four years ago being clapt in Priſon for this by the Inquiſitors, he to prevent further ſeverities, poiſoned himſelf. I went to the Convent of the *Servi*, but I found Father *Paul* was not in ſuch conſideration there, as he is elſewhere: I asked for his Tomb, but they made no acount of him, and ſeemed not to know where it was; it is true, the perſon to whom I was recommended was not in *Venice*, ſo perhaps they refined too much in this matter: I had great diſcourſe with ſome at *Venice* concerning the Memorials out of which *F. Paul* drew his Hiſtory, which are no doubt all preſerved with great care in their Archives, and ſince the Tranſactions of the Council of *Trent*, as they are of great importance, ſo they are become now much controverted by the different relations that *F. Paul*, and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have given the World of that Matter; the only way to put an end to all diſputes in matter of fact, is to Print the Originals themſelves: A Perſon of great credit at *Venice* promiſed to me to do his utmoſt, to get that propoſition ſet on foot, tho the great exactnes that the government there hath always affected as to the matter of their Archives, is held ſo ſacred, that this made him apprehend they would not give way to any ſuch ſearch. The affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long converſation that I had with a perſon of great eminence at *Venice*, that

that as he was long at *Conſtantinople*, ſo was Learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*, he told me he was at *Conſtantinople*, when the inquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church was ſet on foot, occaſioned by the famous Diſpute between Mr. *Arnaud* and Mr. *Claude*, he being a zealous *Roman* Catholick was dealt with to aſſiſt in that buſineſs; but being a Man of great honour and ſincerity he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad opinion of the *Greeks*, and he told me that none of their Prieſts were more inveterate Enemies to the Church of *Rome*, than thoſe that were bred up at *Rome*; for they, to free themſelves of the prejudices that their Countreymen are apt to conceive againſt them, becauſe of their education among the *Latines*, do affect to ſhew an oppoſition to the *Latin* Church beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me that he knew the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Greeks* was ſuch, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, ſo a very little money, or the hope of protection from any of the Ambaſſadors that come from the *Weſt*, would prevail with them to ſign any thing that could be deſired of them: He added one thing, that tho' he firmly believed Tranſubſtantiation himſelf, he did not think they believed it; let them ſay what they pleaſed themſelves, he took his meaſures of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they ſaid. For their Rites not being changed now for a great many Ages were

were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the tradition of their doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they ſaw advantages or protection ſet before them, therefore he concluded that ſince they did not adore the Sacrament after the Conſecration, that was an evident ſign that they did not believe the corporal preſence, and was of a force well able to balance all their ſubſcriptions: He told me he was often ſcandalized to ſee them open the bag in which the Sacrament was preſerved, and ſhew it with no ſort of reſpect, no more than when they ſhewed any Manuſcript, and he looked on adoration as ſuch a neceſſary conſequent of Tranſubſtantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practiſe the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick of *Paris* told me, he ſaid the Originals of thoſe Atteſtations were in too exact and too correct a ſtile to have been formed in *Greece*, he aſſured me they were penned at *Paris* by one that was a Maſter of the purity of the *Greek* Tongue. I do not name thoſe perſons, becauſe they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the famous young Woman that ſpake five Tongues well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two; ſhe paſſed Doctor of Phyſick at *Padua* according to the ordinary forms; but which was beyond all, ſhe was a perſon of ſuch extraordinary vertue and piety, that ſhe is

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ſpoken of as a Saint, ſhe died ſome months before I came to *Venice*: ſhe was of the Noble Family of the *Cornara's*, tho not of the three chief Branches, which are Saint *Maurice*, Saint *Paul* and *Calle*, who are deſcended from the three Brothers of the renowned Queen of *Cyprus*, but the diſtinction of her Familie was *Piſcopia*. Her extraordinary merit made all People unwilling to remember the blemiſh of her deſcent of the one ſide, for tho the *Cornara's* reckon themſelves a ſize of Nobility beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier's* Daughter ſo long that he had ſome Children by her, at laſt for their ſakes Married the Mother, and paid a conſiderable Fine to ſave the forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children muſt have undergone, by reaſon of the meanneſs of the Mothers birth. The *Cornara's* carry it ſo high, that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themſelves Nuns, becauſe they thought their own name was ſo Noble that they could not induce themſelves to change it with any other; and when lately one of that Familie married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is alſo one of the Ancienteſt Families, that was extream Rich, and ſhe had ſcarce any portion at all, for the *Cornara's* are now very low, ſome of their Friends came to wiſh them joy of ſo advantagious a match; but they very coldly rejected the Complement, and bid the others go and wiſh the *Sagredo* joy, ſince they thought the advantage was wholly of their ſide.

There

There are of the truely ancient Noble Families of *Venice* four and twenty yet remaining, and even among theſe there are twelve that are thought ſuperior to the reſt in Rank: Since the firſt formation of their Senate they have created many Senators. In their Wars with *Genua* they Conferred that honour on thirty Families: ſeveral of their Generals have had that honour given them as a Reward of their ſervice: They have alſo offered this honour to ſome Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon* were Nobles of *Venice*, and *Henry* the third, when he came through *Venice* from *Poland* to take poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, went and ſate among them, and drew his Ballot as a Noble *Venetian*: many Popes have procured this honour for their Nephews: Only the *Barberines* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their asking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without the others asked it, and ſo it ſtuck at this. But during the War of *Candy*, Cardinal *Francis Barberin* gave twelve thouſand Crowns a year towards the War, and the temper found for making them Noble *Venetians*, was, that the Queen Mother of *France*, moved the *Senate* to grant it. In all the Creations of Senators before the laſt War of *Candy*, they were free; and the conſiderations were either great ſervices, or the great dignity of thoſe on whom they beſtowed this Honour. Thoſe new Families are divided into thoſe that are called *Ducal* Families, and thoſe that were called ſimply new Fa-

Families, the reaſon of the former Deſignation is not rightly underſtood; but one that knew all that related to that Conſtitution particularly well, gave me a good account of it: That which naturally occurs as the reaſon of it, is, that all thoſe Families that are called *Ducal*, have had the Dukedom in their Houſe: But as all the old Families have had the ſame honour, though they carry not that Title, ſo ſome of the new Families have alſo had it, that yet are not called *Ducal*. Others ſay that thoſe Families that have had Branches, who have been made Dukes, without their being firſt Procurators of S. *Mark*, or that have been choſen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*: But the true Account of this is, that from the year 1450. to the year 1620. for a hundred and ſeventy years there was a Combination made among thoſe new Families to preſerve the Dukedom ſtill among them: For the Old Families carrying it high, and excluding the new Families from the chief Honours, nineteen of the new Families entred into mutual Ingagements to exclude the ancient Nobility: It is true, they made the Dukedome ſometimes fall on ſome of the new Families that were not of this Aſſociation; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were ſhut out, and that it appeared they bore the chief ſway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very People, tho' the Inquiſitors did all they cou d to break it, or at leaſt to hide it, ſo that I never

I never met with it in any of their Authors: But this failed in the year 1620. when *Memmio* was choſen Duke, who was deſcended of one of the ancient Nobility, which was ſo great a Mortification to the caſe *Ducale*, that one of them (*Venniero*) hanged himſelf, by the Rage to which that Diſgrace drove him, yet his man came into the room in time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time one of the *Bembo*'s, two of the *Cornaro*'s, and one of the *Contarini*'s, and the preſent Prince of the *Juſtiniani*, the firſt of that Family that hath had that honour, have been Dukes, who are all of the Antient Families: So that this Faction is now ſo entirely buried, that it is not generally known, even in *Venice* it ſelf, that it was ever amongſt them: and thus Time and other Accidents bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Induſtry could produce: For that which all the Indeavours of the Inquiſitors could not compaſs, was brought about of it ſelf. It is true the Factions in *Venice*, tho violent enough in the Perſons of thoſe who manage them, yet are not derived by them as an Inheritance to their Poſterity, as it was among the *Florentines*; who tho they value themſelves as a ſize of Men much above the *Venetians*, whom they deſpiſe as a phlegmatick and dull race of People, yet ſhewed how little they underſtood, with all their vivacity, to conduct their State, ſince by their domeſtick Heats they loſt their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the Wiſdom ſtill to preſerve

ſerve. This Faction of the Caſe *Ducal* was perhaps willing to let the matter fall, for they loſt more than they got by it: for the ancient Families in revenge ſet themſeves againſt them, and excluded them from all the other advantagious Employments of the State: For the others being only united in that ſingle point relating to the Dukedome, the ancient Families let them carry it, but in all other Competitions they ſet up always ſuch Competitors againſt the Pretenders that were of the Ducal Families, that were much more eſteemed than theſe were, ſo that they ſhut them out of all the beſt Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been ſtill kept up, might in concluſion have proved fatal to their Liberty. It is indeed a wonder to ſee the dignity of the Duke ſo much courted, for he is only a Priſoner of State tied up to ſuch Rules, ſo ſeverely reſtrained and ſhut up as it were in an Apartment of the Palace of St. *Mark*, that it is not ſtrange to ſee ſome of the greateſt Families, in particular the *Cornara's* decline it. All the Family, if ever ſo numerous, muſt retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is choſen out of it, only one that is next to him of Kin ſits ſtill, but without a Vote: And the only real Priviledge that the Duke hath, is, that he can of himſelf, without communicating with the *Savii*, propoſe Matters, either to the Council of ten, to the Senate, or to the great Council; whereas all other Propoſitions muſt be firſt offered to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a ſort of Tribunitian

nitian Power to reject what they diſlike, and tho' they cannot hinder the Duke to make a Propoſition, yet they can mortifie him when he hath made it: They can hinder it to be voted, and after it is voted they can ſuſpend the execution of it till it is examined over again: And a Duke that is of an active Spirit muſt reſolve to indure many of theſe Afflictions, and it is certain that the *Savii* do ſometimes affect to ſhew the greatneſs of their Authority, and exerciſe a ſort of Tyranny in the rejecting of Propoſitions when they intend to humble thoſe that make them. Yet the greateſt part of the beſt Families court this Honour of Dukedom extreamly; when *Sagredo* was upon the point of being choſen Duke, there was ſo violent an outcry againſt it over all *Venice*, becauſe of the diſgrace, that they thought would come on the Republick, if they had a Prince whoſe Noſe had miſcarried in ſome unfortunate diſorders, the Senate complied ſo far with this Averſion that the people teſtified, that tho' the Inquiſitors took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the Mutineers, yet they let the deſign for *Sagredo* fall: Upon which he was ſo much diſguſted, that he retired to a houſe he had in the *Terra firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice*: During which time of his retirement, he writ two Books, the one *Memoirs Ottomaniche*, which is Printed, and he is accounted the beſt of all their Modern Authors: The other was Memoires of the Government, and Hiſtory of *Venice*, which hath

hath never been Printed; and ſome ſay it is too ſincere, and too particular, ſo that it is thought it will be reſerved among their Archives. It hath been a ſort of Maxime now for ſome time not to chuſe a married man to be Duke, for the Coronation of a Dutcheſs goes high, and hath coſt above a hundred thouſand Ducats. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their Branches Princes of the Blood, and tho the *Cornara*'s have done this more than any other, yet others upon the account of ſome Principalities, that their Anceſtors had in the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, have alſo affected thoſe vain Titles: But the Inquiſitors have long ago obliged them to lay aſide all thoſe high Titles, and ſuch of them as boaſt too much of their Blood, find the diſlike which that brings on them very ſenſibly; for whenſoever they pretend to any great Imployments, they find themſelves always excluded. When an Election of Ambaſſadors was propoſed, or of any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in thoſe terms, that the Council muſt chuſe one of its Principal Members for ſuch an Employment: But becauſe this looked like a term of diſtinction among the Nobility, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and inſtead of Principal, they uſe now the term Honourable, which comprehends the whole body of their Nobility, without any diſtinction. It is at *Venice* in the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Title,

and

and particular honours done him, whereas in the mean while this is a meer Pageantry, and under theſe big words there is lodged only a light ſhadow of Authority; for their Biſhop has the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the Duke is called their Prince, and his ſerenity, and hath his Name ſtampt upon their Coin, ſo the *Patriarch* with all this high Title hath really no Authority: For not only Saint *Mark*'s Church is intirely exempted from his juriſdiction, and is immediately ſubject to the Duke, but his Authority is in all other things ſo ſubject to the Senate, and ſo regulated by them, that he hath no more power than they are pleaſed to allow him: ſo that the Senate is as really the Supream Governour over all perſons, and in all Cauſes, as the Kings of *England* have pretended to be in their own Dominions ſince the Reformation: But beſides all this, the Clergy of *Venice* have a very extraordinary ſort of Exemption, and are a ſort of a Body like a Presbytery independent of the Biſhop: The Curats are choſen by the Inhabitants of every Pariſh, and this makes that no Noble *Venetian* is ſuffered to pretend to any Curacy, for they think it below that dignity to ſuffer one of their Body to engage in a Competition with one of a lower Order, and to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told the manner of thoſe Elections was the moſt ſcandalous thing poſſible, for the ſeveral Candidates appear on the day of Election, and ſet out their own Merits, and defame the other pretenders in the fowleſt Language, and in the moſt ſcurrilous manner

imaginable;

imaginable; the ſecrets of all their Lives are publiſht in moſt reproachful Terms, and nothing is ſo abject and ridiculous that is not put in practice on thoſe occaſions, There is a ſort of an Aſſociation among the Curates for judging of their common concerns, and ſome of the Laity of the ſeveral Pariſhes aſſiſt in thoſe Courts, ſo that here is a real Presbytery. The great Libertinage that is ſo undecently practiſed by moſt ſorts of people at *Venice*, extends it ſelf to the Clergy to ſuch a degree, that the Ignorance and Vice ſeem the only indelible Characters that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet thoſe appear here in a much more conſpicuous manner than elſewhere, and upon theſe popular Elections all comes out. The Nuns of *Venice* have been under much ſcandal for a great while, there are ſome Monaſteries that are as famous for their ſtrictneſs and exactneſs to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take: chiefly thoſe of St. *Zachary* and Saint *Laurence*, where none but noble *Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not ſo much as pretended that they have retired for devotion; but it is owned to be done meerly that they might not be too great a charge to their Family: They are not vailed, their Neck and Breaſt is bare, and they receive much Company: But that which I ſaw was in a publick Room, in which there were many Grills for ſeveral Parlors, ſo that the Converſation is very confuſed, for there being a different Company at every Grill, and the *Italians* ſpeaking generally very loud, the noiſe of ſo many loud tal-

Talkers is very diſagreeable. The Nuns Talk much and very ungracefully, and allow themſelves a Liberty in rallying that other places could not bear. About four years ago the Patriark intended to bring in a Reform into thoſe Houſes, but the Nuns of St. *Laurence* with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble *Venetians* who had choſen that way of Life as more convenient for them, but they would not ſubject themſelves to his Regulations, yet he came and would ſhut up their Houſe, ſo they went to ſet fire to it; upon which the Senate interpoſed and ordered the Patriark to deſiſt. There is no Chriſtian State in the World, that hath expreſſed a Jealouſie of Church-mens getting into the publick Councels ſo much as the *Venetians*, for as a Noble *Venetian* that goes into Orders, looſes thereby his right of going to Vote in the great Councel, ſo when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole Kindred and Family muſt during their Lives withdraw from the great Council, and are alſo incapable of all Employments: And by a Clauſe which they added when they received the Inquiſition, which ſeemed of no great Conſequence, they have made it to become a Court abſolutely ſubject to them; for it being provided that the Inquiſitors ſhould do nothing but in the Preſence of ſuch as ſhould be Deputed by the Senate to be the Witneſſes of their Proceedings, thoſe Deputies either will not come but

when they think fit, or will not ſtay longer than they are pleaſed with their Proceedings; ſo that either their abſence or their withdrawing diſſolves the Court: for a Cittation cannot be made, a Witneſs cannot be examined, nor the leaſt point of Form carried on if the Deputies of the Senate are not preſent: and thus it is, tho there is a Court of Inquiſition at *Venice*, yet there is ſcarce any Perſon brought into trouble by it, and there are many of the Proteſtant Religion that live there without any trouble: and tho there is a Congregation of them there that hath their Exerciſes of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no trouble. It is true, the Hoſt not being carried about in Proceſſion, but ſecretly by the Prieſts to the Sick, makes that this uneaſie Diſcrimination of Proteſtant and Papiſt doth not offer it ſelf here as in other places, for the ſtraitneſs of the Streets, and the Chanels through which one muſt go almoſt every foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice* as it is elſewhere, and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole Territory tho the like Reaſon doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of the matters of Religion to a ſcandal and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them, ſo that all that vaſt Pomp in their Ceremonies and wealth in their Churches is affected rather as a point of Magnificence, or a matter of Emulation among Families, than that Superſtition hath here ſuch a power over the Spirtts of the people as it hath

hath elſewhere: for the Atheiſm that is receieved by many here, is the dulleſt and courſeſt thing that can be imagined. The young Nobility are ſo generally corrupted in their Morals, and ſo given up to a moſt ſupine ignorance of all ſort of Knowledge, that a man cannot eaſily imagine to what a height this is grown, and for Military Courage there is ſcarce ſo much as the Ambition of being thought brave, remaining among the greater part of them. It ſeemed to me a ſtrange thing to ſee the *Broglio* ſo full of graceful young Senators and Nobles, when there was ſo glorious a War on foot with the *Turks*, but inſtead of being heated in point of Honour to hazard their Lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of Folly for them to go and hazard it when a little Money can hire Strangers that do it on ſuch eaſie Terms, and thus their Arms are in the hands of Strangers, while they ſtay at home managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and diſſolving their Spirits among their *Courtizans*. And the Reputation of their Service is of late years ſo much ſunk that it is very ſtrange to ſee ſo many come to a Service ſo decryed, where there is ſo little care had of the Souldiers, and ſo little regard had to the Officers: The Arrears are ſo ſlowly paid; and the Rewards are ſo ſcantly diſtributed, that if they do not change their Maxims they may come to feel this very ſinſibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted with Warlike Matters, ſo the Nobility have no ſort of Ambition that way, and ſtrangers are

extreamly diſguſted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of Affairs that they owe their ſafety, for the feebleneſs of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Mantua*, preſerves them from the apprehenſion of an Invaſion, and the Quarrels, and Degeneracy of their Subjects, ſave them from the fears of a Revolt, but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great occaſion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian* Nobility, is a Maxim that hath been taken up for ſome conſiderable time, that for the preſervation of their Families, it is fit that only one of a Family ſhould marry, to which I will not add that it is generally believed that the Wife is in common to the whole Family: By this means the younger Brothers that have appointments for Life, and that have no Families that come from them, are not ſtirred up by any Ambition to ſignalize themſelves or to make Families, and ſo they give way to all the Lazineſs of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it. Whereas the beſt Services done in other States flows from the neceſſities as well as the Aſpirings of younger Brothers or their Families, whoſe Blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride and neceſſities puſh them on, to acquire firſt a Reputation, and then a fortune: But all this is a Myſtery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend ſo much from the active Spirits of a neceſſitous Nobility, that to lay thoſe to ſleep, they incourage them in all thoſe things that may

may blunt and depreſs their minds, and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleaſure, when it is ſo far from being reſtrained, that it is rather puſhed on to all the Licentiouſneſs of unlimitted diſorders.

Yet I muſt add one thing, that tho *Venice*, is the place in the whole World where Pleaſure is moſt ſtudied, and where the Youth have both the greateſt Wealth, and the moſt leiſure to purſue it: yet it is the place that I ever ſaw where true and innocent Pleaſure is the leaſt underſtood, in vvhich I will make a little Digreſſion that perhaps will not be unpleaſant, As for the Pleaſures of Friendſhip or Marriage they are Strangers to them, for the horrible diſtruſt, in which they all live, of one another, makes that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but moſt of all in *Venice*: and tho vve have been told of ſeveral Stories of celebrated Friendſhips there, yet theſe are novv very rare. As for their Wives they are bred to ſo much ignorance, they converſe ſo little, that they know nothing but the dull ſuperſtition on Holy-days in vvhich they ſtay in the Churches as long as they can, and ſo prolong the little Liberty they have of going abroad on thoſe days as Children do their hours of Play: they are not imployed in their Domeſtick Affairs, and generally they underſtand no ſort of Work, ſo that I was told that they vvere the inſipideſt Creatures imaginable: they are perhaps as vicious as in other places, but it is among them down-

right lewdneſs, for they are drawn into it by the Intanglements of Amour that inveigle and lead many Perſons much farther then they imagined or intended at firſt, but in them the firſt ſtep without any preamble or preparative is down-right beaſtlineſs. And an *Italian* that knew the World well ſaid upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he ſaid their Jealouſie made them reſtrain their Daughters, and their Wives ſo much, that they could have none of thoſe Domeſtick entertainments of Wit, Converſation, and Friendſhip, that the *French* or *Engliſh* have at home: It is true thoſe he ſaid hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty but the *Italians* by their exceſſive Caution made that they had none of the true Delights, of a married State; and notwithſtanding all their uneaſie Jealouſie, they were ſtill in danger of a contraband Nobility, therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little when it would produce a certain ſatisfaction, then to watch ſo anxiouſly, and thereby have an inſipid Companion inſtead of a lively Friend, tho ſhe might perhaps have ſome ill moments. As for their Houſes they have nothing convenient at *Venice*, for the Architecture is almoſt all the ſame, one Stair-caſe, a Hall that runs along the body of the Houſe, and Chambers on both hands, but there are no apartments, no Cloſets or Back-ſtairs; ſo that in Houſes that are of an exceſſive wealth, they have yet no ſort of convenience; Their Beadſteads are of Iron, becauſe of the Vermin that

that their moiſture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay ſo many Quilts that it is a huge ſtep to get up to them, their great Chairs are all upright without a ſlop in the Back, hard in the bottom, and the Wood of the Arms is not covered: they mix water with their Wine in their Hogſheads, ſo that for above half the year the Wine is either dead or ſower, they do not leaven their Bread, ſo that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, ſo that the Crum is as Dough, when the Cruſt is as hard as a ſtone, in all Inns they boyl Meat firſt before it is Roaſted, and thus as indeed they make it tender, ſo it is quite taſtleſs, and inſipid: And as for their Land-carriage all *Lombardy* over it is extream inconvenient, for their Coaches are faſtned to the pearch, which makes them as uneaſie as a Cart: It is true they begin to have at *Rome*, and *Naples*, Coaches that are faſtned to a ſort of double perch, that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both ſides, which are ſo thin that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream eaſie, but thoſe are not known in *Lombardy*, and beſides this their Caleſhes are open, ſo that one is expoſed to the Sun, and duſt in Summer, and to the weather in Winter: But tho they are covered as ours are, on the other ſide of the *Appenine*, yet I ſaw none that were covered in *Lombardy*: and thus by an Enumeration of many of the innocent pleaſures, and conveniencies of Life, it appears that the *Venetians* purſue ſo violently forbidden Pleaſures, that they know not how to find

out that which is allowable. Their conſtant Practiſes in the *Broglio* is their chief buſineſs, where thoſe that are neceſſitous are purſuing for imployments of advantage, and thoſe that are full of Wealth take a ſort of Pleaſure in croſſing their Pretentions, and in imbroiling matters. The walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them, and they change the ſide of the Square of St. *Mark* as the Sun, and the Weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that Mr. *Pattin* gave me of *Broglio* from the *Greek Peribolaion*, a little corrupted is not forced, and ſince they make all their Parties, and manage all their Intrigues in thoſe Walks, I am apt to think that Broils, Brovillons and Imbroilments are all deriv'd from the Agitations that are managed in thoſe Walks.

As for the laſt created Nobility of *Venice*, I came to know ſome particulars that I have not yet ſeen in any Books, which I ſuppoſe will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreſeen at the beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vaſt expence in which the length of it ingaged them, they would have abandoned the Iſle, rather then have waſted their Treaſure, and debaſed their Nobility. This laſt was extream ſenſible to them; for as the Dignity of the rank they hold is ſo much the more eminent as is reſtrained to a ſmall number, ſo all the beſt imployments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting ſuch a number into it, as muſt riſe out of ſeventy eight

eight Families, was in effect the ſharing their inheritance among ſo many adopted Brothers. This had been leſs infamous if they Communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of thoſe States that they have ſubdued in the *Terra firma*; for as there are many Citizens who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Anceſtors not hapning to be of that Councel that aſſumed the Government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raiſed to that Honour, ſo there had been no infamy in creating ſome of them to be of the Nobility. It had been alſo brought under conſultation long ago, upon the reduction of thoſe States in the *Terra firma*, whether it was not adviſable according to the maxims of the ancient *Romans* to communicate that dignity to ſome of their chief Families, as being the ſureſt way to give ſome contentment to thoſe States, it being alſo a real as well as a cheap ſecurity, when the chief Families in thoſe Cities, were admitted to a ſhare in all the Honours of the Republick. It is true ſome of the Nobility of thoſe States thought they had Honour enough by their birth, and ſo *Zambara* of *Breſcia* refuſed to accept an Honour from thoſe that had robbed his Country of its liberty, yet his poſterity are now of another mind, for they came and bought in this laſt ſale of honour that which was freely offered to their Anceſtor, and was rejected by him. When the Senate found it ſelf extreamly preſſed for mony during the

War it was at firſt propoſed that ſome Families, to the number of five, might be enobled; they offering ſixty thouſand Ducats if they were *Venetians*, and ſeventy thouſand if they were Strangers: There was but one Perſon that oppoſed this in the Senate ſo it being paſſed there, was preſented to the great Council, and there it was like to have paſſed without any difficulty, but one Perſon oppoſed it with ſo much Vigour that though the Duke deſired him to give over his oppoſition, ſince the neceſſities of the War required a great ſupply, yet he perſiſted ſtill; and tho one of the *Savii* ſet forth with tears the extremities to which the State was reduced, he ſtill inſiſted and fell upon one conceit that turned the whole Councel, he ſaid they were not ſure if five Perſons could be found that would purchaſe that Houour at ſuch a rate, and then it would be a vaſt diſgrace, to expoſe the offer of Nobility firſt to Sale, and then to the affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be ſold, and by this means he put by the reſolution for that time: But then another method was taking that was more Honourable, and was of a more extended conſequence. *Labia* was the firſt that preſented a Petition to the great Councel, ſetting forth his Merits towards the Republick, and deſiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thouſand Ducats towards the ſervice of the State: this was underſtood to be the asking to be made noble at that price. *Deſino* ſaid, he thought every man might be well judg-

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ed worthy to offer ſuch an aſſiſtance to the Publick, and that ſuch as brought that ſupply might expect a ſuitable acknowledgment from the Senate, who might afterwards of their own accord beſtow that Honour on thoſe that expreſſed ſo much Zeal for the publick: and this would in ſome ſort maintain that Degree which would be too much debaſed if it were thus bought and ſold: but it ſeems the purchaſers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the reward to the gratitude of the Council, ſo the Petition was granted in plain Terms: and the Nobility ſo acquired was not only to deſcend to the Children of him that was enobled, but to his Brothers and the whole Family to ſuch a Degree. After *Labia* a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleaſant to ſee in what Terms Merchants, that came to buy this Honour ſet forth their Merits, which were that they had taken care to furniſh the Republick with ſuch things as were neceſſary for its preſervation. There was a ſort of a *Triumvirat* formed of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the Brokers: and found out the Merchants: and at laſt brought dovvn the price from a hundred thouſand to ſixty thouſand Ducats, and no other qualifications vvere required if they had Money enough: For vvhen *Correge* ſaid to the Duke that he vvas afraid to ask that Honour for vvant of Merit, the Duke asked him if he had a hundred thouſand Ducats, and vvhen the other anſvvered the ſum vvas ready, the Duke told him that vvas a great Merit.

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At laſt ſeven or eight purchaſed this Honour to the great regret of *Labia*: who ſaid that if he had imagined that ſo many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid ſo high for it that it ſhould have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchaſes were Ancient and Noble Families, but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the loweſt ſort of them: who as they had inriched themſelves by Trade, did then impoveriſh themſelves by the acquiſition of an Honour that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher way of living, ſo it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to Ballance that loſs: for they are ſo much deſpiſed, that they are generally excluded when they compete with the ancient Nobility, tho this is done with that diſcretion, that the old Families do not declare always againſt the new, for that would throw the new into a Faction againſt them, which might be a great prejudice to them, for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great prejudice that the Republick feel by this great promotion, is that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practiſed in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State and the Chancellour that is the head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the Nobility, are to be choſen, having purchaſed the chief Honour of the State there is not now a ſufficient number of capable Citizens left for ſerving the State in thoſe imployments; but this defect will be redreſt with the help of a little time.

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But if this increaſe of the Nobility hath leſſened the dignity of the ancient Families, there is a regulation made in this age that ſtill preſerves a conſiderable diſtinction of Authority in their hands. Crimes againſt the State, when committed by any of the Nobility, were alwaies judged by the Inquiſitors, and the Councel of ten, but all other Crimes were judged by the Councel of forty. But in the year 1624. one of the Nobles was accuſed of *Peculat* Committed in one of their Governments, and the *Avogadore* in the pleading as he ſet forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber: yet tho his Crimes were manifeſt, there being but ſix and twenty Judges preſent twelve only Condemned him; and fourteen Acquitted him, this gave great offence, for tho he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, ſo that his fame could not be reſtored: for the depoſitions of the Witneſſes, and the *Avogadores* (or the Attorney Generals) charge were heard by the People; ſo it was propoſed to make a difference betvven the Nobility and the other Subjects; and ſince all Trials before the forty vvere publick, and the Trials before the ten vvere in ſecret, it ſeemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tried by the ten: Some foreſavv that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raiſe the dignity of the ancient Families, of whom the Councel of ten is alwaies compoſed, too high: therefore they oppoſed it upon this ground, that ſince the Councel of forty ſent out many orders to the Governors, it would very very much leſſen their Authority,

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if they were not to be the Judges of thoſe who were obliged to receive their Orders: but to qualifie this Oppoſition, a Proviſo was made that reſerved to the Councel of Forty, a power to judge of the Obedience that was given to their Orders, but all other Accuſations of the Nobility were remitted to the Councel of Ten: and the Body of the Nobility were ſo pleaſed with this diſtinction that was put between them and the other Subjects, that they did not ſee that this did really enſlave them ſo much the more, and brought them under more danger: ſince thoſe who judge in ſecret have a freer Scope to their Paſſions, than thoſe whoſe Proceedings are publick, and ſo are in effect judged by the Publick, which is often a very effectual Reſtraint upon the Judges themſelves. But the Council of Ten being generally in the Hands of the Great Families: whereas thoſe of all ſorts are of the Council of Forty, which was the chief Judicatory of the State, and is much ancienter than that of Ten: it had been much more wiſely done of them to have been ſtill judged by the Forty: And if they had thought it for their Honour, to have a difference made in the way of judging the Nobility, and the other Subjects, it had been more for their Security to have brought their Trials to this, that whereas the Forty Judge all other Offenders with open Doors, the Nobility ſhould be Judged the Doors being ſhut; which is a thing they very much deſire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it: For this Power of Judging the Nobility, is now conſi-

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dered as the Right of the Ten, and if any Man would go about to change it, the Inquiſitors would be perhaps very quick with him as a mover of Sedition; and be, in that caſe, both Judge, and Party; Yet the Inquiſitors, being apprehenſive of the diſtaſte that that this might breed in the Body of the Nobility, have made a ſort of Regulation, tho it doth not amount to much; which is that the Nobility ſhall be Judged before the Councel of Ten for attrocious Caſes, ſuch as matters of State, the robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other matters they are to be Judged by the Forty: yet the Councel of Ten draws all caſes before them, and none dare diſpute with them.

But this leads me to ſay a little to you of that part of this Conſtitution, which is ſo much cenſured by Strangers: but is really both the greateſt glory, and the chief ſecurity of this Republick, which is the unlimitted power of the Inquiſitors, that extends not only to the Chief of the Nobility, but to the Duke himſelf, who is ſo ſubject to them, that they may not only give him ſevere reprimends, but a ſearch his Papers, make his Proceſs, and in concluſion put him to death without being bound to give an account of their proceedings, except to the Councell of Ten. This is the dread not only of all the Subjects, but of the whole Nobility, and of all that bear Office in the Republick, and makes the greateſt among them tremble, and

ſo obligeth them to an exact conduct. But tho it is not to be denied that upon ſome occaſions they may have been a little too ſudden, particularly in the known ſtory of *Foſcarin*, yet ſuch injuſtifiable ſeverities have occurred ſo ſeldom, that as the wiſdom of this body in making, and preſerving ſuch an inſtitution, cannot be enough admired, ſo the dextrous conduct of thoſe who manage this vaſt truſt ſo as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewiſe highly to be wondered at. In ſhort the inſolence, the factions, the revenges, the neceſſities and ambition that muſt needs poſſeſs a great many members of ſo vaſt a body as is the Nobility of *Venice*, muſt have thrown them often into many fatal convulſions, if it were not for the dread in which they all ſtand of this Court: which hath ſo many ſpies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondaliers*, who cannot fail to diſcover all the ſecret commerce of *Venice*: beſides the ſecret advices that are thrown in at ſo many of theſe Lions mouths that are in ſeveral places of St. *Mark's* Palace, within which there are boxes that are under the keys of the Inquiſitors, ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible for a man to be long in any deſign againſt the State, and not be diſcovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are ſo inexorable, and ſo quick as well as ſevere in the Juſtice, that the very fear of this is ſo effectual a reſtraint, that perhaps the long preſervation of *Venice*, and of its liberty, is owing to this ſingle piece of their conſti-

tution.

tution: and the Inquiſitors are perſons generally ſo diſtinguiſhed for their merit who muſt be all of different Families; and their Authority laſts ſo ſhort a while that the advantages of this vaſt Authority that is lodged with them are conſtant and viſible; whereas the unhappy inſtances of their being impoſed on, and carrying their ſuſpicions too far, are ſo few, that when ever the Nobility grows weary of this yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the Glory and Proſperity of *Venice* at an end. It was terribly attackt not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Jerom Cornaro* was put to death for his correſpondence with *Spain*; he was not near a kin to the great Family of that name, yet the Family thought their Honour was ſo much toucht when one of its remoteſt Branches was condemned of Treaſon, that they offered a hundred thouſand Crowns to have ſaved him, and by conſequence to have preſerved the Family from that infamy; but tho this was not accepted, for he ſuffered as he well deſerved, yet it was ſo viſible that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to his prejudice. But upon the firſt occaſion that offered it ſelf after that, to quarrel with proceedings of the Inquiſitors, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting of their Authority, but the Great Councel was wiſer then to touch ſo ſacred a part of the Government, ſo they retain their power very intire, but they manage it with

all

all possible caution; A Foreigner that hath been many years in their Service told me that the Stories with which Strangers were frighted at the Arbitrary power that was rested in those Inquisitors were sleight things, in comparison of the advantages that they found from it: and after eleven years spent in their Service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a reprimend from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confess it sincerely to the Inquisitors, they are in no danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main Circumstances of it, their Process will be seen dispatched. These are the most remarkable things that I could pick up, during my stay at *Venice*. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several Councels, Officers, and Judicatories, or to the other parts of their Government, which are to be found in all Books; and the forms by which they give their Votes by ballot are so well known, that it were an abusing of your time to inlarge my self concerning them; nor was I sufficiently informed concerning the particulars of the Sale of the Nobility that now is on foot since this last War with the *Turks*, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easie way of raising Money: Nor could I give credit to that which a person of great Eminence there assured me that there was a Prisoner general in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was imployed by the Inquisitors to dispatch those against whom a publick proceeding would make to great a noise; this I could

not believe, tho my Author proteſted that the Brother of one that was ſolicited to accept of the imployment, diſcovered it to him. There is no place in the World where ſtrangers live with more freedom, and I was amazed to ſee ſo little exactneſs among the ſearchers of the Cuſtom-houſe: for though we had a Mullets-lead of Trunks, and Portmangles, yet none offered to asks us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us. But the beſt and Nobleſt entertainment that *Venice* afforded while I was there, was the company of Mr. *dela Haye* the *French* Ambaſſador, who as he hath ſpent his whole life in publick Embaſſies, ſo he hath acquired ſo great a knowledge of the World, with ſo true a Judgment, and ſo obliging a civility, that he may well paſs for a pattern; and it is no wonder to ſee him ſtill engaged in a conſtant ſucceſſion of publick imployments; and his Lady is ſo wonderful a perſon, that I pay them both, but a very ſmall part of what I owe them in this acknowledgment, which I judge my ſelf bound to make of their extraordinary civilities to me: and indeed without the advantage of ſuch a rendevous as I had there, a fortnights ſtay at *Venice* had been a very tedious matter: From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*; From thence to *Rovigo*, which is but a ſmall Town, and ſo to the *Po*, which divides the Territory of the Republick, from the *Ferrareſe*, which is now the Popes Country, and here one ſees what a difference a good and a bad

bad Government makes in a Countrey; for tho the Soil, is the ſame on both ſides of the River, and the *Ferrareſe* was once one of the beautifulleſt ſpots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara* was one of its beſt Towns, while they had Princes of their own who for a courſe of ſome Ages were Pinces of ſuch Eminent vertue, and of ſo Heroical a Nobleneſs that they were really the Fathers of their Country, nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The Soil is abandoned, and uncultivated, nor were there hands enough ſo much as to mow their graſs, which we ſaw withering in their Meadows to our no ſmall wonder. We were amazed to ſee ſo rich a Soil thus forſaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we paſſed through that vaſt Town, which by its extent ſhews what it was about an age ago, and is now ſo much deſerted that there are vvhole ſides of Streets vvithout Inhabitants, and the poverty of the place appears ſignally in the Churches, vvhich are mean and poorly adorned, for the Superſtition of *Italy* is ſo ravenous, and makes ſuch a progreſs in this Age, that one may juſtly take the meaſures of the Wealth of any place from the Churches. The Superſtition or Vanity of this Age is ſo much beyond that of the paſt tho the contrary to this is commonly believed that all the vaſt buildings of great Churches or rich Convents, and the ſurprizing vvealth that appears in them on Feſtival days are the Donatives of the preſent Age; ſo that it is a vulgar error that ſome have taken up, vvho fancy that Superſtition is at a ſtand, if not in a de-

decay, unleſs it be acknowledged that the craft of the Prieſts hath opened to them a new method to ſupport their riches, when the old ones of Purgatory, and Indulgences were become leſs effectual in an Age of more knowledge, and better enlightned, and that is to ingage men to an emulation and a vanity in inriching their Churches, as much as other *Italians* have in the inriching their Palaces, ſo that as they have a pleaſure as well as a vanity in ſeeing ſo much dead wealth in their houſes, they have tranſlated the ſame humour to their Churches: and the vanity of the preſent Age that believes little or nothing of thoſe contrivances, of Purgatory, or the like, produceth the ſame if not greater effects in the building and inriching their Churches, and ſo carries it in expence and prodigality from the ſuperſtition of the former Ages that believed every thing. But to return to *Ferrare.* I could not but ask all I ſaw how it came that ſo rich a ſoil was ſo ſtrangely abandoned, ſome ſaid the Air was become ſo unhealthy, that thoſe who ſtay in it were very ſhort-lived; but it is well known that fourſcore years ago it was well peopled; and the ill Air is occaſioned by the want of Inhabitants, for there not being people to drain the ground and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes that there is a great deal of water lies on the ground and rots, which infects the Air in the ſame manner as is obſerved in that vaſt and rich but uninhabited Champaign of *Rome*, ſo that the ill Air is the effect rather then the cauſe of the diſpeopling of the Popes Dominions

nions. The true cauſe is the ſeverity of the Government, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiſcations by which the Nephews of ſeveral Popes, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, ſo they have driven away many more. And this appears more viſibly by the different ſtate as well as the Conſtitution of *Bologna*, which is full of people that abound in wealth, and as the ſoil is extream rich, ſo it is cultivated with all due care. For *Bologna* delivered it ſelf to the Popedom upon a capitulation, by which there are many priviledges reſerved to it: Crimes there are only puniſhed in the perſons of thoſe who commit them, but there are no confiſcations of Eſtates; and tho the Authority, in criminal matters belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a Legate and his Officers, yet the Civil Government, the Magiſtracy, and the power of Judicature in Civil matters, is intirely in the hands of the State: And by this regulation it is that as the riches of *Bologna* amazes a ſtranger, it neither being on a Navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the center of a Soveraignty where a Court is kept; ſo the Taxes that the Popes fetch from thence are ſo conſiderable, that he draws much more from this place of liberty, then from thoſe where his Authority is unlimited and abſolute, but they are by thoſe means almoſt quite abandoned: for the greatneſs of a Prince or State riſing from the numbers of the Subjects, thoſe maxims that retain the Subjects, and that draw

draw ſtrangers to come among them, are certainly the trueſt maxims for advancing the greatneſs of the Maſter. And I could not but with much ſcorn obſerve the folly of ſome *Frenchmen*, who made uſe of this argument to ſhew the greatneſs of their Nation, that one found many *French-men* in all places to which one could come, whereas there were no *Engliſh* nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*; but this is juſt contrary to the right conſequence that ought to be drawn from this obſervation. It is certain that few leave their Country, and go to ſettle elſewhere, if they are not preſſed with ſo much uneaſineſs at home that they cannot well live among their friends and kinred, ſo that a mild Government drives out no ſwarms: whereas it is the ſure mark of a ſevere Government that weakens it ſelf, when many of the Subjects find it ſo hard to ſubſiſt at home, that they are forced to ſeek that abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country, if impoſitions, and other ſeverities did not force them to change their habitations.

But to return to the wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every corner of the Town, and all round it: tho its ſcituation is not very favourable, for it lies at the foot of the *Appenins* on the North ſide, and is extream cold in Winter. The houſes are built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, ſo that one walks all the Town over covered under *Piazzas*; but the walks here are both higher and larger then any where elſe,

elſe; there are many Noble Palaces all over the Town, and the Churches and Convents are incredibily rich: within the Town the richeſt are the Dominicans, which is the chief houſe of the Order, where their Founders body is laid in one of the beſt Chappels of *Italy*: and next to them are the *Franciſcans*, the Servites, the Jeſuites, and the Canons Regular of St. *Salvator*. In this laſt there is a ſcrowl of the *Hebrew* Bible, which tho it is not the tenth part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible: and they were made believe by ſome *Jew*, that hath no doubt ſold it at a high rate, that it was written by *Ezrah*'s own hand, and this hath paſt long for current: but the Manuſcript is only a fine Copy like thoſe that the *Jews* uſe in their Synagogues, that may be perhaps three or four hundred years old: that part of it on which I caſt my eye was the Book of Eſther, ſo by the bulk of the ſcrowl, I judged it to be the Collection of thoſe ſmall books of the Old Teſtament that the *Jews* ſet after the Law; but thoſe of the houſe fancy they have a great treaſure in it, and perhaps ſuch *Jews* as have ſeen it are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and to ſuffer them to go on in their error. The chief Church in the Town is St. *Petrones*, and there one ſees the curious and exact Meridional-line, which that rare *Aſtronomer Caſſini* laid along a great part of the pavement in a braſs Circle: it marks the true point of mid-day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the beſt performances that perhaps the World

World ever ſaw. In the great Square before the Church, on the one ſide of which is the Legate's Palace, among other Statues one ſurprized me much, it was Pope *Joan*'s, which is ſo named by the People of the Town, it is true the Learned men ſay it is the Statue of Pope *Nicolas* the IV. who had indeed a youthly and womaniſh Face, But as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little Proſpect that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of Pope *Nicolas* the IV. which is in St. *Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*: For the Statue of that Pope, though it hath no Beard, yet hath an age in it that is very much different from the Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any thing on this Statue, for I do not believe that Story at all, and I my ſelf ſaw in *England* a Manuſcript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this Matter, which did not ſeem to be written long after the Author's time, in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the Margin by another hand. On the Hill above *Bologna*, ſtands the Monaſtery of St. *Michael* in *Boſco*, which hath a moſt charming Situation and Proſpect, and is one of the beſt Monaſteries in *Italy*: it hath many Courts, and one that is Cloiſtered, and is Octangular: which is ſo nobly painted in Freſco, that it is great pity to ſee ſuch work expoſed to the Air: All was retouched by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again

much decayed: The Dormitory is very Magnificent: the Chappel is little, but very fine, and the Stalls are richly carved. On the other ſide of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthuſians* have alſo a very rich Monaſtery: Four Miles from *Bologna*, there is a *Madona* of St. *Lukes*, and becauſe many go thither in great Devotion, there is a Portico, a Building, which is already carried on almoſt half way: it is walled towards the North, but ſtands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high, which is carried on very vigorouſly; for in eight or ten years the half is built, ſo that in a little time, the whole will be very probably finiſhed, and this may prove the beginning of many ſuch like Portico's in *Italy*; for things of this kind want only a beginning, and when they are once ſet on foot, they do quickly ſpread themſelves in a Country that is ſo intirely ſubdued by Superſtition and the Artifices of their Prieſts. In *Bologna* they reckon there are ſeventy thouſand perſons. I ſaw not one of the chief Glories of this place, the famous *Malaſighi* was out of Town while I was there. I ſaw a Play there, but the Poeſie was ſo bad, the Farces ſo rude, and all was ſo ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to ſee the Company expreſs ſo great a ſatisfaction in that which would have been hiſs'd off the Stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then we ingage into that Range of Hills that carry the Name of *Apenins*; though that is ſtrictly given only

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to one that is the higheſt: All the way to *Florence* this Track of Hills continues, tho' there are ſeveral bottoms, and ſome conſiderable little Towns in them, but all is up-hill and down-hill, and *Florence* it ſelf is juſt at the Bottom of the laſt Hill. The High ways all along theſe Hills are kept in ſo very good caſe, that in few of the beſt inhabited Countries doth one find the High-ways ſo well maintained as in thoſe forſaken Mountains: but this is ſo great a Paſſage, that all that are concerned in it, find their Account in the expence they lay out upon it. On the laſt of theſe Hills, though in a little Bottom, in the midſt of a Hill, ſtands *Pratolino*, one of the great Duke's Palaces, where the Retreat in Summer muſt be very agreeable; for the Air of thoſe Mountains is extream thin and pure. The Gardens in *Italy* are made at a great Coſt, the Statues and Fountains are very rich and noble, the Grounds are well laid out, and the Walks are long and even: But as they have no Gravel to give them thoſe firm and beautiful Walks that we have in *England*, ſo the conſtant Greenneſs of the Box doth ſo much pleaſe them, that the preferring the Sight to the Smell, have their Gardens ſo high-ſcented by Plots made with them, that there is no pleaſure to walk in them; they alſo lay their Walks ſo between Hedges, that one is much confined in them. I ſaw firſt in a Garden at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many Gardens in *Italy*, which was extream convenient, there went a Courſe of Water round

about the Walls, about a foot from the ground in a Channel of Stone that went along the ſide of the Wall; and in this there were holes ſo made, that a pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to ſuch Plants, as in dry ſeaſon, needed watring; and a Cock ſet the Water a running in this Courſe, ſo that without the trouble of carrying Water, one perſon could eaſily manage the watring of a great Garden. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and ſtately Convents. The Streets are paved in imitation of the old *Roman* Highways, with great Stone, bigger than our common Pavement-Stone, but much thicker, which are ſo hollowed in their Joynings to one another, that Horſes find faſtning enough to their Feet: There are many Statues and Fountains in the Streets, ſo that in every Corner one meets with many agreable Objects. I will not entertain you with a Deſcription of the great Duke's Palace and Gardens; or of the old Palace and the Gallery that joins to it, and of the vaſt Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curioſities that muſt needs amaze every one that ſees them: the Plate, and in paticular the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all ſuch extraordinary things that they would require a very copious Deſcription: if that had not been done ſo often, that it were to very little purpoſe to Copy what others have ſaid: and theſe things are ſo exactly ſeen by every Traveller, that I can ſay nothing that is more particular of theſe

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ſubjects than you will find in the common Itineraries of all Travellers. The great Dome is a magnificent Building, but the Frontiſpiece to the great Gate is not yet made. The Cupulo, is after *S. Peter*'s, the greateſt and higheſt that I ſaw in *Italy:* it is three hundred foot high, and of a vaſt Compaſs, and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very ſingular, as well as regular. Only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, leſſened it very much in my Thoughts: for the Walls that are all of Marble, being of white and black Marble laid in different Figures and Orders, looked too like a Livery, and had not that air of Nobleneſs which in my opinion becomes ſo glorious a Fabrick. The Baptiſtery that ſtands before it, was a Noble Heathen Temple: its Gates of Braſs are the beſt of that ſort that are in the World: There are ſo many Hiſtories ſo well repreſented in bas Reliefs in them, with ſo much exactneſs, the work is ſo natural, and yet ſo fine, that a curious man may find entertainment for many days if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple with a critical exactneſs. The *Annunciata*, *S. Mark*'s, S. *Croce*, and S. *Maria Novela*, are Churches of great Beauty and vaſt Riches: but the Church and Chappel of S. *Lawrence* exceeds them all as much in the Riches within, as it is inferior to them in the outſide, which is quite flea'd, if I may ſo ſpeak, but on deſign to give it a rich outſide of Marble. In a Chappel within this Church the Bodies of the great Dukes lie depoſited

till the famous Chappel is finiſhed. But I was much ſcandalized to ſee Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have ſeen any where elſe in Churches. I will not offer at a Deſcription of the Glorious Chappel, which as it is without doubt the richeſt piece of Building that perhaps the World ever ſaw, ſo it goes on ſo ſlowly, that tho' there are always many at Work, yet it doth not ſeem to advance proportionably to the number of the Hands that are employed in it. Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the Virgins made by *Michael Angelo*, which repreſents her Grief at the Paſſion of her Bleſſed Son, that hath the moſt Life in it, of all the Statues I ever ſaw. But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent took up more of my time than all the other Curioſities of *Florence*; for here is a Collection of many Manuſcripts, moſt of them are *Greek*, that were gathered together by Pope *Clement* the VII. and given to his Country; and there are very many Printed Books mixed with them; and the ſe Books that are there, are ſo rare, that they are almoſt as curious as Manuſcripts. I ſaw ſome of *Virge*'s Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manuſcript in which ſome parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written, and in one place, one in a different Hand hath writ that he had compared thoſe Manuſcripts: and he adds a Date to this in *Olibrius*'s time, which is about twelve hundred years ago. I found ſome Diphthongs in it caſt into one Letter which ſurprized me, for I thought tha

way of writing them had not been ſo ancient; but that which pleaſed me moſt was that, the Library-keeper aſſured me that one had lately found the famous Epiſtle of St. *Chryſoſtome* to *Ceſarius* in *Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the Manuſcripts of that Father's Books of which they have a great many. He thought he remembred well the place where the Book ſtood; ſo we turned over all the Books that ſtood near it; but I found it not: he promiſed to look it out for me if I came back that way. But I changing my deſign, and going back another way, could not ſee the bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi* who is the great Duke's Library-keeper, and is a perſon of moſt wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as he is Learned beyond imagination, aſſured me that this could be no other than a Miſtake of the Library-keepers: he ſaid ſuch a diſcovery could not have been made without making ſo much noiſe that he muſt have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in *Florence* that either underſtood *Greek*, or that examined Manuſcripts, ſo that he aſſured me I could not build on what an ignorant Library-keeper had told me: So I ſet down this Matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much ſunk from what it was; for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thouſand Souls in it: and the other States that were once great Republicks, ſuch as *Siena* and *Piſa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now ſhrunk almoſt

into nothing: It is certain that all three together are now not ſo numerous, as any one of them was two hundred years ago. *Legorn* is full of People: and all round *Florence* there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over *Tuſcany*, it appears ſo diſpeopled, that one cannot wonder to find a Country that hath been a Scene of ſo much action and ſo many Wars, now ſo forſaken, and ſo poor, that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of Hands to cultivate it: and in other places where there are more people, they look ſo poor, and their houſes are ſuch miſerable Ruines, that it is ſcarce accountable how there ſhould be ſo much Poverty in ſo rich a Country, which is all over full of Beggars, and here the ſtile of Begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*: for whereas there they begged for the ſake of St. *Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls that were in Purgatory, and this was the ſtile in all the other parts of *Italy* through which I paſſed. In ſhort, the diſpeopling of *Tuſcany*, and moſt of the Principalities of *Italy*, but chiefly of the Pope's Dominions, which are more abandoned than any other part of *Italy*, ſeemed to flow from nothing but the ſeverity of the Government and the great decay of Trade: for the greateſt Trade of *Italy* being in Silk, the vaſt Importations of Silks that the *Eaſt-India* Companies bring into *Europe*, hath quite ruined all thoſe that deal in this Manufacture: yet this is not the chief Cauſe of the diſpeopling of thoſe rich Countries:

the

the ſeverity of the Taxes is the true Reaſon: notwithſtanding all that decay of Trade, the Taxes are ſtill kept up. Beſides this, the vaſt Wealth of the Convents, where the only people of *Italy* are to be found, that live not only at their Eaſe, but in great Plenty and Luxury, makes many forſake all ſort of Induſtry, and ſeek for a recreation of thoſe Seats of Pleaſure; ſo that the People do not increaſe faſt enough to make a new Race to come inſtead of thoſe whom a hard Government drives away. It muſt needs ſurprize an attentive Traveller to ſee not only the *Venetian* Territory; which is indeed a rich Country, but the *Baliages* of the *Switzers*, and the Coaſt of *Genoa*, ſo full of People, when *Tuſcany*, the Patrimony, and the Kingdom of *Naples* have ſo few Inhabitants. In the Coaſt of *Genua* there is for many Miles, as it were, a conſtant Tract of Towns and Villages, and all thoſe are well peopled, though they have ſcarce any Soil at all, lying under the Mountains that are very barren, and that expoſe them to a moſt uneaſie Sun; and that they lie upon a boiſtrous Sea, that is almoſt always in a Storm, and that affords very few Fiſh: and yet the Gentleneſs of the Government draws ſuch Multitudes thither, and thoſe are ſo full of Wealth, that Money goes at two *per Cent.* But on the other hand to ballance this a little, ſo ſtrange and wild a Thing is the Nature of Man, at leaſt of

Italians, that I was told that the worſt People of all *Italy* are the *Genoeſes*, and the moſt generally corrupted in their Morals, as to all ſorts of Vice; ſo that though a ſevere Government, and Slavery are contrary to the Nature of man, and to human Society, to Juſtice and Equity; and to that eſſential equality that Nature hath made among men: yet on the other hand all men cannot bear that eaſe and liberty that becomes the human Nature. The Superſtition of *Italy*, and the great waſte of Wealth that one ſees in their Churches, particularly thoſe prodigious Maſſes of Plate with which their Altars are covered on Holidays, doth alſo ſink their Trade extreamly; for Silver, being in Commerce, what Blood is in the Body, when ſo much of that is dead, and circulates no more; it is no wonder if ſuch an extravaſation (If I may uſe ſo long and ſo hard a Word) of Silver, occaſions a great deadneſs in Trade. I had almoſt forgot one Remark that I made in the laſt Hill of the *Apenins*, juſt above *Florence*, that I never ſaw ſuch tall and big Cypreſſes anywhere as grew over all that Hill, which ſeemed a little ſtrange, that Tree being apt to be ſtarved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are ſevere. All the way in *Tuſcany* is very rugged, except on the Sides of the *Arne*. But the Uneaſineſs of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the High-ways, which are all in very good caſe: the Inns are wretched and ill furniſhed both for Lodging and Diet.

This

This is the Plague of all *Italy* when once one hath paſſed the *Appenis:* for, except in the great Towns, one really ſuffers ſo much that way, that the pleaſure of Travelling is much abated by the Inconvenience that one meets in every Stage through which he paſſes. I am,

SIR,

Yours.

THE

THE FOURTH LETTER.

From Rome, *the* 8*th. of* December, 1685.

I Am now in the laſt Stage of my Voyage over *Italy*; for ſince my laſt from *Florence*, I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples*; and have now ſatisfied my Curioſity ſo fully, that I intend to leave this Place within a day or two, and go to *Civitavechia*; and from thence by Sea to *Marſeilles*, and ſo avoid an unpleaſant Winters Journey over the *Alps*. It is true, I loſe the ſight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and ſome other Courts: but though I am told theſe deſerve well the pains of the Journey, yet when one riſes from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much ſoever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his Appetite: So I confeſs freely that the ſight of *Naples* and *Rome* have ſo ſet my Stomach that way, that the Curioſity of ſeeing new Places, is now very low with me, and indeed theſe which I have of late ſeen, are ſuch, that places which at another time would pleaſe me much, would now make but a ſlight and cold Impreſſion.

All

All the way from *Florence*, through the Great Dukes Country looked ſo ſad, that I concluded it muſt be the moſt diſpeopled of all *Italy*, but indeed I changed my Note when I came into the Popes Territories at *Pont Centino*, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not ſo much as ſtocked with Cattle: But as I paſſed from M. *Fiaſcone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more amazing; for a vaſt Champion Country lay almoſt quite deſerted. And that wide Town, which is of ſo great a Compaſs, hath yet ſo few Inhabitants, and thoſe look ſo Poor and Miſerable, that the People in the ordinary Towns in *Scotland*, and in its worſt Places make a better appearance. When I was within a days Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of ſo great a City muſt mend the matter: but I was much diſappointed, for a Soil that was ſo rich, and lay ſo ſweetly that it far exceeded any thing I ever ſaw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattel upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear: The ſurprize that this gave me, encreaſed upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other ſide, chiefly all the way to *Naples*, and on the way to *Civita vecchia*, for that vaſt and rich Champian Country that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita vecchia* is above a hundred Miles long, and is in many Places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is abandoned to ſuch a Degree, that as far as ones Eye can carry one, there are often not ſo much as a Houſe to be ſeen; but on the Hills that are on the North ſide of this Valley, and by this

diſpeopling of the Country, the Air is now become ſo unwholeſom, that it is not ſafe to be a night in it all the Summer long: for the Water that lyes upon many places not being drained, it rots: and in the Summer this produces ſo many noiſom ſteams, that it is felt even in *Rome* it ſelf; and if it were not for the breeſes that come from the Mountains, the Air would be intollerable: When one ſees all this large but waſte Country from the Hill of *Marino* twelve miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word it is the rigor of the Government that hath driven away the Inhabitants, and their being driven away hath now reduced it to ſuch a paſs, that it is hardly poſſible to repeople it: for ſuch as would come to drain and cultivate it, muſt run a great hazard, and few can reſolve on that, when they can hope for no other reward of their Induſtry, but an uneaſie Government. It is the greateſt Soliciſm in Government for the Prince to be Elective, and yet Abſolute, for an Hereditary Prince is induced to conſider his poſterity, and to mantain his people, ſo that thoſe that come after him may ſtill ſupport the rank which they hold in the World: But an Elective Prince hath nothing of that in his eye unleſs he hath a pitch of generoſity which is not ordinary among men, and leaſt of all among *Italians*, who have a paſſion for their Familes, which is not known in other places: and thus a Pope who comes in late to this dignity, which by conſequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn

to

to thoſe Councels, by which his Family may make all the haſte they can during this Sunſhine: And tho antiently the Cardinals were a check upon the Pope, and a ſort of a Councel without whom he could do nothing even in Temporals; yet now they have quite loſt that; and they have no other ſhare in affairs then that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them, ſo that he is the moſt abſolute Prince in *Europe*. It is true as to Spirituals they retain ſtill a large ſhare, ſo that in cenſures and definitions the Pope can do nothing regularly, without their concurrence; tho it is certain that they have not ſo good a Title to pretend to that as to a ſhare in the Temporal Principality. For if the Pope derives any thing from St. *Peter*, all that, is ſingly in himſelf, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he things beſt; ſince the Infallibility, according to their pretentions, reſts ſingly in him: Yet becauſe there was not ſo much to be got by acting Arbitrary in thoſe matters, and a Summary way of exerciſing this Authority, might have tempted the World to have inquired too much into the grounds on which it is built: Therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain ſtill a ſhare in this Supremacy over the Church, tho they have no claim to it, neither by any Divine nor Eccleſiaſtical warrants: But as for the endowments of the See of *Rome*, to which they may juſtly lay claim, as being in a manner the Chapter of that See; there is ſo much to be got by this, that the Popes have in-

ingrossed it wholly to themselves: and thus it is that the Government of this Principality is very unsteady. Sometimes the Popes Family are extreamly Glorious, and magnificent, at other times, they think of nothing but of Establishing their House: Sometimes the Pope is a Man of Sence himself; sometimes he is quite sunk, and as the last Pope was, he becomes a Child again through old Age. Sometimes he hath a particular Stiffness of Temper, with a great Slowness of Understaning, and an insatiable Desire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of him that now Reigns. By this Diversity which appears eminently in every new Pontificat that commonly avoids those excesses that made the former Reign odious, the Councels of the Popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this is sensible to all *Europe*, with relation to the general Concerns of that Body, it is much more visible in the Principality it self, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this Age a Succession of four ravenous Reigns, and tho there was a short interruption in the Reign of the *Rospigliosi*, that coming after the *Barberins*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Chigis*, did not enrich it self: and yet it disordered the Revenue by the vast magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty nine months time, then any other had done in so many Years. The *Altieri* did, in a most Scandalous manner raise themselves in a very short and despised Reign, and built one of the Noblest Palaces in Rome. He that reigns now doth not

indeed raiſe his Family avowedly, but he doth not eaſe the people of their Taxes; and as there is no magnificence in his Court, nor any publick buildings now carryed on at *Rome*, ſo the many vacant Caps, occaſion many empty Palaces: and by this means there is ſo little expence now made at *Rome*, that it is not poſſible for the people to live and pay the Taxes, which hath driven as is believed almoſt a fourth part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome*, during this Pontificate. And as the preemption of the Corn makes that there is no profit made by the owners, out of the cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the Pope, ſo there are no ways left here of imploying ones money to any conſiderable advantage: For the publick Banks, which are all in the Popes hand, do not pay in effect three *per cent.* tho they pretend to give four *per cent.* of intereſt: The ſettlement is indeed four *per cent.* and this was thought ſo great an Advantage, that Actions on the Popes Bank were bought at a Hundred and ſixteen the hundred. But this Pope broke through all this, and declared he would give all men their money again, unleſs they would pay him thirty *per Cent.* for the continuing of this Intereſt; and thus for a Hundred Crowns Principal, one not only payed at firſt one Hundred ſixteen: but afterwards thirty: In all one hundred ſix and forty for the Hundred, which is almoſt the half loſt: For whenſoever the Pope will pay them back their Money all the reſt is loſt: And while

I am here, there is a report that the Pope is treating with the *Genoeſes* for money at two *per Cent.* and if he gets it on thoſe Terms, then he will pay his debts: and the ſubjects that have put in money in this bank, will, by the means, loſe ſix and forty *per Cent.* which is almoſt the half of their ſtock. A man of quality at *Rome*, and an eminent Church-man, who took me likewiſe for one of their Clergy, becauſe I wore the habit of a Church-man, ſaid that it was a horrible ſcandal to the whole Chriſtian World, and made one doubt of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, to ſee more oppreſſion and cruelty in their Territory, than was to be found even in *Turky*; tho it being in the hands of Chriſts Vicar, one ſhould expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle Government; and how, ſaid he, can a man expect to find his Religion here, where the common maxims of Juſtice and Mercy were not ſo much as known: And I can never forget the lively reflection that a *Roman* Prince made to me upon the folly of all thoſe ſevere Oppreſſions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, ſo they reduce thoſe that are left to ſuch a degeneracy of Spirit by their neceſſities, that the *Spaniards*, whoſe Dominions look ſo big in the Map, are now brought ſo low: and if they had kept ſtill the poſſeſſion they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would ſignifie no more towards their preſervation, then their other Provinces did, which, by their unskilful conduct they have both diſpeopled and exhauſted

hauſted: Whereas by their loſing thoſe ſeven *Provinces*, thoſe States have fallen upon ſuch wiſe Notions of Government, and have drawn ſo much Wealth, and ſuch numbers of people together, that *Spain* it ſelf was now preſerved by them, and was ſaved in this Age by the loſs it made of thoſe Provinces in the laſt: and thoſe States that if they had remained ſubject to *Spain*, would have ſignifyed little to its ſupport, did that now much more conſiderably by being Allies, then they could have done if they had not ſhaken off their yoke.

Indeed if *Spain* had been ſo happy as to have ſuch Viceroys and Governours, as it has now in *Naples*, their affairs could not have declined ſo faſt as they have done. The Marqueſs of *Carpi*, in his Youth intended to have taken ſo ſevere a revenge of an injury that he thought the late King of *Spain* did him in an Amour, that he deſigned the blowing him up by Gun-powder, when he was in the Councel Chamber: but that Crime was diſcovered in time: and was not only forgiven him in conſideration, of the greatneſs of his Family, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*: but after that he was made for ſeveral years Ambaſſador in *Rome*: He is now Viceroy of *Naples*, and is the only Governor of all the places through which I paſſed, that is, without exception beloved and eſteemed by all ſorts of People: for during the few years of his Miniſtry, he hath redreſſed ſuch abuſes that ſeemed paſt Cure, and that required an Age to correct them:

He

He hath repreſſed the Inſolence of the *Spaniards* ſo much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no occaſion to complain of the haughtineſs of their Maſters: for he proceeds againſt the *Spaniards* with no leſs ſeverity, when they give cauſe for it, then againſt the *Neapolitans*: He hath taken the pay of the Souldiers ſo immediately into his own Care, that they, who before his coming, were half Naked, and robbed ſuch as paſſed on the Streets of *Naples* in Day-light, are now exactly paid, well Deſciplined, and ſo decently cloathed, that it is a Pleaſure to ſee them: He examines their Muſters alſo ſo exactly, that he is ſure not to be cheated by falſe Liſts: He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true exactneſs: and whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has ſent for Loaves out of the ſeveral places of the Markets and weighed them himſelf: and by ſome ſevere Puniſhments on thoſe that ſold the Bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a juſt Regulation: He hath alſo brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again, and it is believed he hath Spies to watch in caſe the Trade of Bribes is found to be ſtill going on: He hath fortified the Palace which was before his time, ſo much expoſed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a deſcent upon it: But the two things that raiſe his Reputation moſt, are his extirpating of the *Banditi*, and the Regulation of the Coin, which he hath taken in hand.

hand. It is well enough known what a plague the *Banditi* have been to the Kingdom, for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Countrey, but were able to reſiſt an ordinary Body of Souldiers if they had ſet on them: Theſe travelled about ſeeking for ſpoil all the Summer long, but in Winter they are harboured by ſome of the *Neapolitan* Barons, who gave them Quarters: and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as ſo many Inſtrumens ready to execute their revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*; and there was a Councel that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditi* committed to them, who as they catched ſome few, and hanged them, ſo they fined ſuch Barons as gave them harbour, and it was believed that thoſe Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns a year: And thus the diſeaſe went on; only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the bottom of the Diſtemper. But when the preſent Viceroy entred upon the Government he reſolved to extirpate all the *Banditi*, and he firſt let all the Barons underſtand that if they harboured them any more, a little Fire would not ſave them: but that he would proceed againſt them with the utmoſt ſeverity, and by this means the *Banditi* could find no Winter Quarters: So they betook themſelves to ſome faſtneſſes among the Hills, and reſolved to make good the Paſſes, and to accommodate themſelves the beſt they could amidſt

amidſt the Mountains. The Viceroy ſent a great Body againſt them, but they defended themſelves for ſome time vigorouſly, and in one Salley they killed five Hundred Men: but at laſt ſeeing that they were like to be hard preſt; and that the Viceroy intended to come againſt them in Perſon, they accepted of the Terms that he offered them, which was a Pardon for what was paſt both as to Life and Gallies, and ſix pence a day for their entertainment in Priſon during Life, or the Viceroys Pleaſure; and ſo they rendred themſelves. They are kept in a large Priſon, and now and then as he ſees cauſe for it, he ſends ſome few of them up and down to ſerve in Garriſons. And thus, beyond all Mens Expectation, he finiſhed this matter in a very few Months; and the Kingdom of *Naples* that hath been ſo long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now ſo much changed, that in no place of *Europe* do the Subjects enjoy a more entire Security. As for the Coin, it as all ether *Spaniſh* Money is ſo ſubject to clipping, that the whole Money of *Naples* is now light, and far below the true Value, ſo the Viceroy hath reſolved to redreſs this: he conſiders that the crying down of Money, that paſſeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing of thoſe, in whoſe Hands the Money happens to be when ſuch Proclamations are put out, and therefore he takes a Method that is more general, in which every one will bear his ſhare, ſo that none will be cruſhed by it. He hath laid ſome Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and hath

hath got a great many to bring in ſome Plate to be Coined: and when he hath thus prepared ſuch a quantity, as may ſerve for the Circulation that is neceſſary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give out new Money for it. Thus doth this Viceroy ſet ſuch a pattern to the other Miniſters of the Crown of *Spain* that if many would follow it, the State of their affairs would be ſoon altered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* is the richeſt part of all *Italy*, for the very Mountains that are near the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either Wine or Oyl, in great abundance. *Apulia* is a great Corn Country, but it is exceſſive hot, and in ſome years all is burnt up. The *Jeſuits* are the Proprietors of near the half of *Apulia*, and they treat their Tenants with the ſame rigour that the Barons of this Kingdom do generally uſe towards their Farmers: For the Commons here are ſo miſerably oppreſt, that in many places they dye of hunger even amidſt the great plenty of their beſt years, for the Corn is exported to *Spain*; but neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Neopolitans* underſtand Trade ſo well as to be their own Merchants or Carriers, ſo that the *Engliſh* do generally carry away the profit of this Trade. The Oyl of this Kingdom is ſtill a vaſt Trade, and the Manufacture of the Wool and Soap of *England*, conſumes yearly ſome thouſands of Tuns. The ſilk Trade is ſo low that it only ſerves themſelves, but the exportations is inconſiderable: the ſloath and lazineſs of this people renders them incapable of making thoſe advantages

of

of ſo rich a Soil, that a more induſtrious ſort of People would find out: For it amazes a Stranger to ſee in their little Towns, the whole men of the Town walking in the Market places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing; and though in ſome big Towns, ſuch as *Capua*, there is but one Inn, yet even that is ſo miſerable, that the beſt Room and Bed in it, is ſo bad, that our Foot-men in *England*, would make a grievous Out-cry if they were no better lodged: nor is there any thing to be had in them: the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oil is rotten. In ſhort, except one carries his whole Proviſion from *Rome* or *Naples*, he muſt reſolve to endure a good deal of Miſery in the four days journey that is between thoſe two Places. And this is what a Traveller, that ſees the Riches of the Soil, cannot comprehend: but as they have not Hands enough for their Soil, ſo thoſe they have are generally ſo little employed, that it is no wonder to ſee their Soil produce ſo little, that in the midſt of all that abundance that Nature hath ſet before them, they are one of the pooreſt Nations of *Europe*. But beſides this which I have named, the vaſt and dead Wealth that is in the Hands of the Churchmen, is another evident Cauſe of their Miſery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, aſſured me that if it were divided into five parts, upon a ſtrict Survey, it would be found that the Churchmen had four parts of the five, which he made out thus, they have in Soil above the half of the

the whole, which is two and a half: and in Tithes and Gifts and Legacies they have one and a half more; for no man dieth without leaving a conſiderable Legacy to ſome Church or ſome Convent. The wealth that one ſees in the City of *Naples* alone, paſſeth imagination: there are four and twenty houſes of the Order of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciſcans*, ſeven of the *Jeſuites*; beſides the Convents, of the *Olivitanes*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*: and above all, for ſituation and riches, the *Carthuſians* on the top of the Hill that lyeth over the Town. The riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious: It is the greateſt Hoſpital in the World, the Revenue is ſaid to be Four hundred thouſand Crowns a year: The number of the Sick is not ſo great as at *Milan*: Yet one convenience for their Sick I obſerved in their Galleries; which was conſiderable, that every Bed ſtood as in an Alcove, and had a Wall on both ſides ſeparating it from the Beds on both hands, and as much void ſpace on both ſides of the Bed, that the Bed it ſelf took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are ſo many, that one can hardly believe the Numbers that they boaſt of: for they talk of many thouſands that are not ſeen, but are at Nurſe: A great part of the wealth of this Houſe goeth to the inriching their Church, which will be all over within cruſted with inlayings of lovely Marble, in a great variety and beauty of colours: The Plate that is in the *Treaſury* here, and

in the *Dome*, (which is but a mean building, becauſe it is ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vaſt Treaſury) and in a great many other Churches are ſo prodigious, that upon the modeſt eſtimate, the Plate of the Churches of *Naples* amounts to Eight Millions of Crowns. The new Church of the *Jeſuites*, that of St. *John* the Apoſtle, and that of St. *Paul* are ſurprizing rich; the gilding and painting that is on the roofs of thoſe Churches have coſt Millions: And as there are about a hundred Convents in *Naples*, ſo every one of theſe, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth ſeeing, tho' the riches of the greater Convents here, make many of them to be leſs viſited. Every year there is a new Governour of the *Annunciata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thouſand Crowns: and to make ſome compenſation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vaſt Piece of Plate to the Houſe, a Statue for a Saint in Silver, or ſome Coloſs of a Candleſtick; for ſeveral of thoſe pieces of Plate are ſaid to be worth ten thouſand Crowns; and thus all the Silver of *Naples* becomes dead and uſeleſs: The *Jeſuites* are great Merchants here; their Wine Cellar is a vaſt Vault, and holds above a thouſand Hogs-heads, and the beſt Wine of *Naples* is ſold by them, yet they do not retail it out ſo ſcandalouſly as the *Minims* do, who live on the great ſquare before the Viceroys Palace, and ſell out their Wine by retail: They pay no duty, and have extraordinary good Wine, and are in the beſt Place of the Town for this re-

retail. It is true, the *Neopolitans* are no great drinkers, ſo the profits of this Tavern are no ſo great as they would be in colder Countries: for here men go only in for a draught in the mornings, or when they are a-thirſt. Yet the Houſe groweth extream rich, and hath one of the fineſt Chappels that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade ſeems very unbecoming men of that Profeſſion, and of ſo ſtrict an Order. The Convents have a very particular priviledge in this Town; for they may buy all the houſes that lye on either ſide, till the firſt ſtreet that diſcontinueth the Houſes; and there being ſcarce a ſtreet in *Naples* in which there is not a Convent, by this means, they may come to buy in the whole Town: And the progreſs that the wealth of the Clergy makes in this Kingdom is ſo viſible, that if there is not ſome ſtop put to it, within an Age they will make themſelves Maſters of the whole Kingdom: It is an amazing thing to ſee ſo profound an ignorance as reigns among the Clergy prevail ſo effectually, for tho all the Secular perſons here ſpeak of them with all poſſible ſcorn, yet they are the Maſters of the Spirits of the people. The Women are infinitely ſuperſtitious, and give their husbands no reſt, but as they draw from them great Preſents to the Church. It is true, there are Societies of men at *Naples* of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of *Italy*: The Greek Learning begins to flouriſh there, and the new Philoſophy is much ſtudied; and there is an Aſſembly that is held in D. *Joſeph*

Valleta's Library (where there is a vaſt Collection of well choſen Books) compoſed of men that have a right taſte of true Learning and good Senſe: they are ill looked on by the Clergy, and repreſented as a Set of Atheiſts, and as the Spawn of *Pomponatius* his School: But I found no ſuch thing among them, for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a conſiderable number of them, during the ſhort ſtay that I made among them: There is a learned Lawyer, *Franciſco Andria*, that is conſidered as one of the moſt inquiſitive men of the Aſſembly: There is alſo a Grandchild of the Great *Alciat*, who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come in to this attempt for the reviving of Learning among them: On the contrary, it is plain that they dread it above all things. Only one Eminent Preacher *Rinaldi*, that is Arch-deacon of *Capua*, aſſociates himſelf with them: he was once of the Jeſuite Order, but left it; and as that alone ſerved to give a good Character of him to me, ſo upon a long converſation with him, I found a great many other things that poſſeſſed me with a high value for him. Some Phyſicians in *Naples* are brought under the ſcandal of Atheiſm; and it is certain, that in *Italy* men of ſearching Underſtandings, who have no other Idea of the Chriſtian Religiou, but that which they ſee received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite; for they believing it all alike in groſs without diſtinction; and finding ſuch notorious Cheats, as appear in many parts of their Religion, are

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upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preachings of the Monks in *Naples* are terrible things. I ſaw a Jeſuite go in a ſort of a Proceſſion, with a great Company about him, and calling upon all that he ſaw, to follow him to a place where a Mountebank was ſelling his Medicines, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the people with a ſort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over; fearing leſt his action ſhould grow tedious, and diſperſe the Company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor men of any reputation for Learning among the Jeſuites: I was told they had not men capable to teach their Schools, and that they were forced to hire ſtrangers: The Order of the *Oratory* hath not that Reputation in *Italy*, that it hath gained in *France*, and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in *Naples*, is among ſome few Secular Prieſts.

The new method of *Molino*'s doth ſo much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed he hath above twenty thouſand Followers in this City; And ſince this hath made ſome noiſe in the World, and yet is generally but little underſtood, I will give you ſome account of him: He is a *Spaniſh* Prieſt that ſeems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly a very ill Reaſoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions: He hath writ a Book, which is intituled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is a ſhort abſtract of the Myſtical Divinity; the ſubſtance of the whole is reduced to this, that in our Prayers and other Devotions, the beſt

methods are to retire the mind from all groſs Images, and ſo to form an act of Faith, and thereby to Preſent our ſelves before God: and then to ſink into a ſilence and ceſſation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and ſo to follow his conduct: This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of devotion, and he makes ſmall account of Corporal Auſterities, and reduces all the Exerciſes of Religion to this ſimplicity of mind: He thinks this is not only to be propoſed to ſuch as live in Religious Houſes, but even to Secular perſons, and by this he hath propoſed a great Reformation of mens Minds and Manners: He hath many Prieſts in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that diſpoſe thoſe who confeſs themſelves to them, to follow his Methods: The *Jeſuites* have ſet themſelves much againſt this Conduct, as foreſeeing, that it may much weaken the Empire that Superſtition hath over the Minds of People, that it may make Religion become a more plain and ſimple thing, and may alſo open a door to Enthuſiaſms: they alſo pretend that his conduct is factious and ſeditious, that this may breed a Schiſm in the Church. And becauſe he ſaith, in ſome places of his Book, that the mind may riſe up to ſuch a ſimplicity in its acts, that it may riſe in ſome of its devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Chriſt; they have accuſed him, as intending to lay aſide the Doctrine of Chriſts Humanity, tho it is plain that he ſpeaks only of the purity of ſome ſingle acts:

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Upon all those heads they have set themselves much against *Molinos*; and they have also pretended that some of his Disciples have infused it into their Penitents, that they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession, which they thought weakned much the yoke, by which the Priests subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct: Yet he was much supported both in the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*; he hath also many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the Jesuits, as a Provincial of the Order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great King that is now extreamly in the Interests of their Order to interpose, and to represent to the Pope the danger of such Innovations. It is certain, the Pope understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great opinion of *Molino*'s sanctity, yet upon the Complaints of some Cardinals that seconded the zeal of that King, he and some of his Followers were clapt in the Inquisition, where they have been now for some Months, but still they are well used, which is believed to flow from the good Opinion that the Pope hath of him, who saith still, that tho he may erre, yet he is certainly a good Man: Upon this imprisonment *Pasquin* said a pleasant thing, in one week one man had been condemned to the Gallies for somewhat he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and *Molinos* was clapt in Prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, That

men ought to bring their minds to a State of inward quietneſs, from which the name of *Quietiſts* was given to all his Followers. The Paſquinade upon all this, was *ſi parliamo, in Galere, ſi ſcrivemmo Impiccati, ſi ſtiamo in quiete all Sant' Officio, e che biſogna fore: If we ſpeak we are ſent to the Gallies, if we write we are hanged: if we ſtand quiet we are clapt up in the Inquiſition: what muſt we do then?* Yet his Followers at *Naples* are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this Tryal victorious.

The City of *Naples* as it is the beſt ſituated, and in the beſt Climate, ſo it is one of the Nobleſt Cities of *Europe*, and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, yet it hath much more beauty than either of them: The ſtreets are large and broad, the Pavement is Great and Noble, the Stones being generally about a foot ſquare: And it is full of Palaces and great Buildings: The Town is well ſupplied by daily Markets, ſo that Proviſions are ever freſh and in great plenty, the Wine is the beſt of *Europe*, and both the Fiſh and the Fleſh is extream good: It is ſcarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a freſh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroys Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-caſe is great: But it is now very richly furniſhed within, in Pictures and Statues: There are in it ſome Statues of the *Egyptian* Deities of Touchſtone, that are of great Value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an ancient

ancient *Roman Portico* that is very Noble, before Saint *Paul*'s Church: But without the City near the Church and Hoſpital of Saint *Gennaro*, that is without the Gates, are the Noble *Catacombs*: which becauſe they were beyond any thing I ſaw in *Italy*, and to which the *Catacombs* of *Rome* are not to be compared, and ſince I do not find any account of them, in all the Books that I have yet ſeen concerning *Naples*, I ſhall deſcribe them more particularly.

They are vaſt and long Galleries cut out of the Rock. There are three Stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the loweſt, ſo that one cannot go into it, but I ſaw the paſſage to it: Theſe Galleries are generally about Twenty foot broad, and about Fifteen foot high: ſo that they are Noble and ſpacious places; and not little and narrow as the *Catacombs* at *Rome*, which are only Three or Four foot broad, and Five or Six Foot high. I was made believe that theſe *Catacombs* of *Naples* went into the Rock nine Mile long; but for that I have it only by report: yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards *Puzzolo*, and ſo they may have been the Burial places of the Towns on that Bay; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found Galleries going off in all hands without end, and whereas in the *Roman Catacombs* there are not above three or four rows of niches

that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead bodies were laid; Here there are generally ſix or ſeven Rows of thoſe Niches, and they are both larger and higher: ſome Niches are for Childrens Bodies, and in many places there are in the Floors, as it were great Cheſts hewn out of the Rock, to lay the Bones of the dead, as they dried, in them; but I could ſee no marks either of a Cover for theſe Holes that looked like the bellies of Cheſts, or of a Facing to ſhut up the Niches when a dead body was laid in them; ſo that it ſeems they were monſtrous unwholſome and ſtinking places, where ſome thouſands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to ſhut in ſo loathſome a ſight, and ſo odious a ſmell: For the Niches ſhew plainly that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapt in the dead Cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In ſome places of the Rock, there is as it were a little Chappel hewen out in the Rock, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are Niches all round about; but I ſaw no marks of any Wall that ſhut in ſuch places, tho I am apt to think theſe might be burying places appropriated to particular Families. There is in ſome places on the Walls an Arch, Old Moſaick work, and ſome Painting, the Colours are freſh, and the manner and Characters are *Gothick*, which made me conclude that this might have been done by the *Normans* about ſix hundred years ago, after they drive out the *Saracens*; In ſome places there are Palm-Trees painted,

and

and Vines in other places: The freſhneſs of the Colours ſhews theſe could not have been done while this place was imployed for burying, for the ſteams and rottenneſs of the Air, occaſioned by ſo much corruption, muſt have diſſolved both Plaiſter and Colours. In one place there is a man painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his Head; there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his head *Laud* is written, and this is repeated in another place right over againſt it. In another place I found a Croſs Painted, and about the upper part of it theſe Letters J. C. X. O. and in the lower part N J K A are Painted: A Learned Antiquary that went with me, agreed with me that the manner of the Painting and Characters did not ſeem to be above ſix hundred years old: but neither of us knew what to make of theſe Letters: The lower ſeemed to relate to the laſt word of the Viſion, which it is ſaid that *Conſtantine* ſaw with the Croſs that appeared to him: But tho the firſt two Letters might be for Jeſus, it being ordinary in old Coins and Inſcriptions to put a C. for an S. and X. ſtands for Chriſt, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unleſs it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little line in the boſome of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it ſtands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inſcription is, Jeſus Chriſt God overcometh. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sta. Johannes*, which was a clear ſign of a barbarous Age. In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three

three Pictures under it, that at top had no Inſcription; thoſe below it had theſe Inſcriptions *Sta. Katharina*, *Sta. Agape*, and *Sta. Margarita*, theſe Letters are clearly modern, beſides that *Margaret* and *Katherine* are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the *S.* were manifeſt Evidences that the higheſt Antiquity that can be aſcribed to this Painting is ſix hundred years. I ſaw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkneſs, and the thick Air of the place, ſo I ſtayed not above an hour in the *Catacombs*. This made me reflect more particularly on the *Catacombs* of *Rome* than I had done. I could imagine no Reaſon why ſo little mention is made of thoſe of *Naples*, when there is ſo much ſaid concerning thoſe of *Rome*: and could give my ſelf no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxime to keep up the Reputation of the *Roman Catacombs*, as the Repoſitories of the Reliques of the Primitive Chriſtians, it would have much leſſened their Credit, if it had been thought that there were *Catacombs* far beyond them in all reſpects, that yet cannot be ſuppoſed to have been the work of the Primitive Chriſtians, and indeed nothing ſeems more evident than that theſe were the common burying places of the ancient Heathens. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the twelve Tables, and ſuch are the *Catacombs* of *Rome* that I ſaw, which were thoſe of S. *Agnes* and S. *Sebaſtian*, the entry into them being without the Town; this anſwers the Law, tho in effect they run under it,

for

for in thoſe days when they had not the uſe of the Needle, they could not know which way they carried on thoſe Works when they were once ſo far ingaged under ground as to loſe themſelves. It is a vain imagination to think that the Chriſtians, in the Primitive times, were able to carry on ſuch a work; for as this prodigious digging into ſuch Rocks, muſt have been a very viſible thing by the Mountains of Rubbiſh that muſt have been brought out, and by the vaſt number of hands that muſt have been imployed in it; ſo it is abſurd to think that they could hold their Aſſemblies amidſt the annoyance of ſo much corruption. I found the ſteams ſo ſtrong, that tho' I am as little ſubject to Vapours as moſt men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a confuſion, and as it were a boiling in my head, that diſordered me extreamly; and if there is now ſo much ſtagnating Air there, this muſt have been ſenſible in a more eminent and inſufferable manner while there were vaſt numbers of Bodies rotting in thoſe Niches. But beſides this improbability that preſents it ſelf from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a paſſage of a Letter of *Cornelius* that was Biſhop of *Rome*, after the middle of the third Century, which is preſerved by *Euſebius* in his ſixth Book, *Chapter* 43. in which we have the State of the Church of *Rome* at that time ſet forth. There were forty ſix *Presbyters*, ſeven *Deacons*, as many *Subdeacons*, and ninety four of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy among them: there were

alſo

alſo fifteen hundred Widows, and other poor maintained out of the Publick Charities. It may be reaſonably ſuppoſed that the numbers of the Chriſtians were as great when this Epiſtle was writ, as they were at any time before *Conſtantine*'s days; for as this was writ at the end of that long peace, of which both S. *Cyprian* and *Lactantius* ſpeak, that had continued above a hundred years; ſo after this time, there was ſuch a Succeſſion of Perſecutions, that came ſo thick one upon another, after ſhort intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the Chriſtians increaſed much beyond what they were at this time. Now there are two particulars in this State of the Clergy, upon which one may make a probable eſtimate of the numbers of the Chriſtians: The one is their Poor, which were but fifteen hundred; now upon an exact ſurvey, it will be found that where the Poor are well looked to, their number riſes generally to be the thirtieth or fortieth part of Mankind: and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the Poor among the Chriſtians of that Age: For as their Charity was vigorous and tender, ſo we find *Celſus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphyry*, and others, object this to the Chriſtians of that time, that their Charities to the Poor drew vaſt numbers of the lower ſort among them, who made themſelves Chriſtians that they might be ſupplied by their Brethren: So that this being the State of the Chriſtians, then we may reckon the Poor the thirtieth part, and ſo fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty,

thirty, produce five and forty thouſand: And I am the more inclined to think that this riſes up near to the full ſum of their Numbers, by the other Character of the Numbers of the Clergy, for as there were forty ſix *Presbyters*, ſo there were ninety four of the inferior Orders, who were by two more than the double of the number of the Prieſts: and this was in a time in which the care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages; the Clergy having then really more work on their hands, the inſtructing of their *Catechumens*, the viſiting their Sick, and the ſupporting and comforting the weak, being tasks that required ſo much application, that in ſo vaſt a City as *Rome* was in thoſe days, in which it is probable the Chriſtians were ſcattered over the City, and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a Conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every *Presbyter* had perhaps about a thouſand Souls committed to his care, ſo this riſes to ſix and forty thouſand: which comes very near the ſum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the Number of their Poor. So that about fifty thouſand is the higheſt account to which we can reaſonably raiſe the Numbers of the Chriſtians of *Rome* in that time: And of ſo many Perſons, the old, the young, and the Women, make more than three fourth parts, ſo that men that were in condition to work, were not above twelve thouſand: and by conſequence, they were in no condition to undertake and carry on ſo vaſt a work.

If

If *Cornelius* in that Letter ſpeaks of the numbers of the Chriſtians in exceſſive Terms, and if *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick* hath alſo ſet out the numbers of the Chriſtians of his Time, in a very high ſtrain, that is only to be aſcribed to a pompous Eloquence, which diſpoſeth People to magnifie their own Party, and we muſt allow a good deal to a Hyperbole that is very natural to all that ſet forth their Forces in general terms. It is true, it is not ſo clear when thoſe vaſt Cavities were dug out of the Rocks. We know that when the Laws of the twelve Tables were made, ſepulture was then in uſe: and *Rome* being then grown to a vaſt bigneſs, no doubt they had Repoſitories for their dead: ſo that ſince none of the *Roman* Authors mention any ſuch work, it may not be unreaſonable to imagine that theſe Vaults had been wrought and cut out from the firſt beginnings of the City, and ſo the latter Authors had no occaſion to take notice of it. It is alſo certain, that tho' burning came to be in uſe among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their firſt Cuſtome of burying bodies long before *Conſtantine*'s time; ſo that it was not the Chriſtian Religion that produced *this Change*. All our Modern writers take it for granted, that the change was made in the times of the *Antonines*: yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an Age full of Writers, of any Orders that were given for burying places, *Veſſerus*'s Opinion ſeems more probable, that the Cuſtom of burning wore out by degrees,

grees, and ſince we are ſure that they once buried, it is more natural to think that the ſlaves and the meaner ſort of the people were ſtill buried; that being a leſs expenceful and a more ſimple way of beſtowing their bodies than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable, and if there were already burying places prepared, it is much eaſier to imagine, how the Cuſtom of Burying grew Univerſal, without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for ſome time find out upon what grounds the Modern Criticks take it for granted, That Burying began in the times of the *Antonines*: Till I had the happineſs to talk of this matter with the Learned *Gronovius*, who ſeems to be ſuch a Maſter of all the Ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: he told me that it was certain the change from burning to burying was not made by the Chriſtian Emperours, for *Macrobius* (lib. 7. cap. 7.) ſays in plain terms, that the Cuſtom of Burning the Bodies of the Dead was quite worn out in that Age; which is a clear intimation, that it was not laid aſide ſo late as by *Conſtantine*, and as there was no Law made by him on that head, ſo he and the ſucceeding Emperours gave ſuch an entire tolleration to *Paganiſme*, admitting thoſe of that Religion to the greateſt Employments, that it is not to be imagined, that there was any order given againſt burning; ſo that it is clear, the *Heathens* had changed it of their own accord: otherways we ſhould have found that among the Complaints

plaints that they made of the grievances under which they lay from the Chriſtians. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made, *Gronovius* ſhewed me a paſſage of *Phlegon's* that mentions the Bodies that were laid in the ground, yet he did not build on that, for it may have relation to the Cuſtoms of burying that might be elſewhere. And ſo *Petronius* gives the account of the burial of the *Epheſian* Matron's Husband: but he made it apparent to me, that burying was commonly practiſed in *Commodus's* time, for *Xiphilinus* tells us that in *Pertinax's* time the friends of thoſe whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to death had dug up their Bodies, ſome bringing out only ſome parts of them, and others raiſing their intire Bodies. The ſame Author alſo tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus's* body, and ſo ſaved it from the rage of the people, and here is a poſitive Evidence that burying was the common practice of that time. It is true, it is very probable that as we ſee ſome of the *Roman* Families continued to bury their Dead, even when burning was the more common Cuſtome, ſo perhaps others continued after this to bury their Dead, the thing being indifferent, and no Law being made about it, and therefore it was particularly objected to the Chriſtians after this time, that they abhorred the Cuſtome of burning the bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Felix*; but this, or any other Evidences, that may be brought from Medals of Conſecrations after this time, will only

only prove, that ſome were ſtill burnt, and that the Chriſtians practiſed burying Univerſally, as expreſſing their Belief of the Reſurrection; whereas the *Heathens* held the thing indifferent. It is alſo clear from the many genuine Inſcriptions that have been found in the *Catacombs*, which bear the dates of the Conſuls, that theſe were the common Burial places of all the *Chriſtians* of the fourth and fifth Century: for I do not remember that there is any one date that is Ancienter: and yet not one of the Writers of thoſe Ages ſpeak of them as the work of the Primitive *Chriſtians*. They ſpeak indeed of the burial places of the Martyrs, but that will prove no more, but that the *Chriſtians* might have had their quarters, and their walks in thoſe common burial places where they laid their dead, and which might have been known among them, tho it is not likely that they would in times of perſecutions make ſuch Inſcriptions as might have expoſed the Bodies of their dead Friends to the rage of their Enemies. And the ſpurious acts of ſome Saints and Martyrs are of too little credit to give any ſupport to the common Opinion. *Damaſus*'s Poetry is of no better Authority. And tho thoſe Ages were inclined enough to give credit to Fables, yet it ſeems this of thoſe *Catacombs* having been the work of the Primitive *Chriſtians* was too groſs a thing to have been ſo early impoſed on the World. And this ſilence in an Age in which Superſtition was going on at ſo great a rate has much force in it, for ſo vaſt

a work, as thoſe *Catacombs* are, muſt have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were eaſie to carry this much further, and to ſhew that the bas reliefs that have been found in ſome of thoſe *Catacombs*, have nothing of the beauty of the ancient and *Roman* time. This is alſo more diſcernable in many Inſcriptions that are more *Gothick* than *Roman*, and there are ſo many Inſcriptions relating to Fables, that it is plain theſe were of later times, and we ſee by St. *Jerom* that the Monks began, even in his time, to drive a Trade of Reliques; ſo it is no wonder that to raiſe the credit of ſuch a heap as was never to be exhauſted, they made ſome miſerable Sculptures, and ſome Inſcriptions; and perhaps ſhut up the Entries into them with much care and ſecreſie, intending to open them upon ſome dream or other artifice, to give them the more reputation, which was often practiſed, in order to the drawing much wealth and great devotion, even to ſome ſingle Relique; and a few being upon this ſecret, either thoſe might have died; or by the many Revolutions that hapned in *Rome*, they might have been diſperſed before they made the diſcovery: And thus the knowledge of thoſe places was loſt, and came to be diſcovered by accident in the laſt Age, and hath ever ſince ſupplied them with an inexhauſtible Magazine of Bones, which by all appearance are no other than the Bones of the *Pagan Romans*, which are now ſent over the World to feed a Superſtition that is as blind as it proves expenſive. And thus

thus the Bones of the *Roman* Slaves, or at leaſt thoſe of the meaner ſort, are now ſet in Silver and Gold, with a great deal of other coſtly garniture, and entertain the Superſtition of thoſe who are willing to be deceived, as well as they ſerve the ends of thoſe that ſeek to deceive the World. But becauſe it cannot be pretended that there was ſuch a number of Chriſtians at *Naples*, as could have wrought ſuch *Catacombs*, and if it had been once thought that thoſe were the common burial places of the ancient *Heathens*, that might have induced the World to think that the Roman *Catacombs* were no other; therefore there hath been no care taken to examine theſe. I thought this required a large diſcourſe, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this Subject. I will not enter upon a long deſcription of that which is ſo well known at Mount *Veſuvio*; it had roared ſo loud about a Month before I came to *Naples*, that at *Naples* they could hardly ſleep in the nights, and ſome old Houſes were ſo ſhaken by the Earthquake that was accaſioned by this Convulſion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground: And the laſt eruption, above fifty years ago, was ſo terrible, that there was no ſmall fear in *Naples*, though it lies at the diſtance of ſeven miles from the Hill, yet the Storm was choaked under ground; for tho it ſmoakt much more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption: It was indeed ſmoaking, not only in the mouth of the little Mount that is formed within the great waſt that the fire hath made, but alſo all along the

the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this Mountain, which is four miles in compaſs, and that inward Hill. When one ſees the mouth of this fire, and ſo great a part of the Hill which is covered ſome feet deep with Aſhes and Stones of a metallick compoſition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but ſtand amazed, and wonder what can be the fuel of ſo laſting a burning, that hath calcined ſo much matter, and ſpewed out ſuch prodigious quantities. It is plain there are vaſt Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soil, and it ſeems in this Mountain they run along through ſome Mines and Rocks, and as their ſlow conſumption, produceth a perpetual Smoak, ſo when the Air within is ſo much rarified, that it muſt open it ſelf, it throws up thoſe maſſes of Metal and Rock that ſhut it in; but how this Fire draws in Air to nouriſh its Flame, is not ſo eaſily apprehended, unleſs there is either a conveyance of Air under ground, by ſome undiſcovered Vacuity, or a more inſenſible tranſmiſſion of Air, through the Pores of the Earth. The heat of this Hill operates ſo much upon the Soil that lies upon it toward the foot of it, that it produceth the richeſt Wine about *Naples*, and it alſo purifieth the Air ſo much, that the Village at bottom is thought the beſt Air of the Country, ſo that many come from *Naples* thither for their health. *Iſchia*, that is an Iſland not far from *Naples*, doth alſo ſometimes ſpew out Fire.

On

On the other ſide of *Naples* to the Weſt, one paſſeth through the Cave that pierceth the *Pauſalippe*, and is Four hundred and forty paces long, for I walked it on foot to take its true meaſure, it is twenty foot broad, and at firſt forty foot high; but afterward it is but twenty foot high; the Stone cut out here is good for building, ſo that as this opened the way from *Puzzoli* to *Naples*, it was alſo a Quarry for the building of the Town: All along the way here one diſcovers a ſtrange boiling within the ground, for a little beyond this Grot of *Pauſalippe*, as we come near the Lake of *Aniano*, there is on the one hand a Bath occaſioned by a ſteam that riſeth ſo hot out of the ground, that as ſoon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himſelf all over in a ſweat, which is very proper for ſome diſeaſes, eſpecially that which carries its name from *Naples*; And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little Grot, that ſends out a poiſonous ſteam, that as it puts out a Candle, as ſoon as it cometh near it, ſo it infallibly killeth any living Creature within a minute of time; for in half that time a dog, upon which the Experiment is commonly tried, the Grot being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*, fell into a convulſion. From that one goeth to ſee the poor Reſts of *Puzzoli*, and of all that Bay that was once all about a tract of Towns, it having been the retreat of the *Romans*, during the heats of the Summer. All the rarities here have been ſo often and ſo copiouſly deſcribed, that I am ſenſible I can add nothing

thing to what is ſo well known. I will ſay nothing of the *Ampitheater*, or of *Cicero* and *Virgil*'s Houſes, for which there is nothing but a dubious Tradition; they are antient Brick buildings of the *Roman* way, and the Vaults of *Virgil's* houſe are ſtill entire; The *Sulfatara* is a ſurprizing thing; here is a bottom out of which the force of the fire, that breaks out ſtill in many places, in a thick ſteaming ſmoak, that is full of Brimſtone, did throw up, about a hundred and 50 years ago, a vaſt quantity of Earth, which was carried above three Miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the Ruines of a Town that was overwhelmed with this eruption, which is of a very conſiderable heighth, they told me that there was before that time a Channel that went from the Bay into the Lake of *Averno*, of which one ſees the beginnings in the Bay at ſome diſtance from the ſhore; it carrieth ſtill the name of *Julio*'s Mole, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Cæſar*. But by the ſwelling of the ground upon the eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this paſſage is ſtopt, and the *Averno* is now freſh water, it is eighteen fathom deep. On the ſide of it is that amazing Cave, where the *Sibil* is ſaid to have given out her inſpirations: the hewing it out of the Rock, hath been a prodigious work; for the Rock is one of the hardeſt ſtones in the World, and the Cave goeth in ſeven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and as I could gueſs, eighteen foot high; and from the end of this great Gallery, there is a narrow paſſage of three foot broad,

broad, two hundred foot long, and ſeven high, to a little Apartment, to which we go in a conſtant ſtooping deſcent from the great Cave; here are three little Rooms: in one of them there are ſome Reſts of an old Molaick, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over, there is alſo a Spring of Water, and a Bath in which it is ſuppoſed the *Sibil* bathed her ſelf; and from this Cave it is ſaid that there runs a Cave all along to *Cuma*, which is three long miles, but the Paſſage is now choakt by the falling in of the Rock in ſeveral places: this piece of Work amazed me. I did not much mind the popular Opinion that is eaſily received there, that all this was done by the Devil; the marks of the Chizzel in all the parts of the Rock ſheweth that this is not a work of Nature. Certainly they had both much leiſure, and many hands at their command who ſet about it, and it ſeems to have been wrought out with no other deſign but to ſubdue the people more intirely to the conduct of the Prieſts that managed this Impoſture, ſo buſie and induſtrious hath the ambition and fraud of the Prieſts been in all Ages and in all corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of Noble Objects that preſent themſelves in the Bay of *Puzzoly*, the Reſts of *Caligula*'s Bridge are the moſt amazing; for there are yet ſtanding eight or ten of the Pillars that ſupported the Arches, and of ſome of the Arches the half is yet intire. I had not a line with me to examine the depth of the Water where the furtheſt of thoſe Pillars is built, but my Water-

man aſſured me it was fifty Cubits. This I cannot believe, but it is certainly ſo deep that one can ſcarce imagine how it was poſſible to build in ſuch a depth, and for the carrying off of the Sea, that ſeems yet more impoſſible. It is a noble Monument of the profuſe and extravant expence of a Brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vaſteſt Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four miles of Sea, meerly to ſacrifice ſo great a Treaſure to his vanity: As for *Agripina*'s Tomb, it is no great matter, only the Bas Reliefs are yet intire. The marvellous Fiſh-pond is a great Baſin of Water, wrought like a huge Temple, ſtanding upon 48 great Pillars, all hewed out of the Rock; and they are laid over with four cruſts of the old Plaiſter, which is now as hard as Stone; this is believed to be a work of *Nero*'s; and about a quarter of a mile from thence there is another vaſt work which goeth into a Rock; but at the entrance there is a noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick, and as one enters into the Rock, he finds a great many Rooms regularly ſhaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaiſter, which is ſtill entire, and ſo white that one can hardly think that it hath not been waſhed over ſince it was firſt made; there are a vaſt number of thoſe Rooms, they are ſaid to be a hundred: from whence this Cave carrieth the name of the *Centum Cameræ*: This hath ben as expenſive a Work as it is uſeleſs, it is intituled to *Nero*, and here they ſay he kept his Priſoners. But there is nothing in all this

this Bay that is both ſo curious and ſo uſeful as the Baths, which ſeems to flow from the ſame reaſon that is the cauſe of thoſe Eruptions in the *Veſuvio* and *Salfatara*, and the *Grottos* formerly mentioned; that as this heat makes ſome Fountains there to be boiling hot, ſo it ſends up a ſtream through the Rock, that doth not break through the pores of the Stone where it is hard; but where the Rock is ſoft and ſpungy there the ſtreams come through with ſo melting a heat, that a man is ſoon, as it were, diſſolved in ſweat; but if he ſtoops low in the paſſages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no heat, becauſe there the Rock is hard. Thoſe ſtreams as they are all hot, ſo they are impregnated with ſuch Minerals as they find in their way through the Rock; and near this Bath there are galleries, hew'd out of the rock, and fac'd with a building, in which there are, as it were, Bedſteds made in the Walls, upon which, thoſe that come thither to ſweat for their health, lay their Quilts and Bed-cloaths, and ſo come regularly out of their Sweats.

It is certain that a man can no where paſs a day of his life both with ſo much pleaſure, and with ſuch advantage, as he finds in this journy to *Puzzoli*, and all along the Bay: but tho anciently this was alſo well built, ſo peopled, and ſo beautifully laid out, yet no where doth one ſee more viſibly what a change time bring upon all places: for *Naples* hath ſo intirely eat out this place, and drawn its Inhabitants to it, that as *Puzzoli* it ſelf is but a ſmall Village, ſo there is now no other in all this Bay, which

was anciently built almoſt all round, for there were ſeven big Towns upon it. Having thus told you what I found moſt conſiderable in *Naples*, I cannot paſs by that noble remnant of the *Via Appia*, that runs along thirty miles of the way between it and *Rome*, without making ſome mention of it: this High-way is 12 foot broad, all made of huge ſtones, moſt of them blue, and they are generally a foot and half large of all ſides: the ſtrength of this Cauſeway appears in its long duration, for it hath laſted above eighteen hundred years; and is in moſt places, for ſeveral miles together, as intire as when it was firſt made: and the botches that have been made for mending ſuch places, that have been worn out by time, ſhews a very viſible difference between the ancient and the modern way of Paving. One thing ſeems ſtrange, that the way is level with the earth on both ſides: whereas ſo much weight as thoſe Stones carry ſhould have ſunk the ground under them by its preſſure: Beſides that the earth, eſpecially in low grounds, receives a conſtant increaſe, chiefly by the Duſt which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both which Reaſons ſhould make a more ſenſible difference, between thoſe waies and the Soil on both ſides: and this makes me apt to believe that anciently thoſe waies were a little raiſed above the level of the ground, and that a courſe of ſo many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Thoſe Waies were chiefly made for ſuch as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleaſant than to walk along

along them, ſo nothing is more inconvenient for Horſes and all ſorts of Carriage, and indeed Mules are the only Beaſts of burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horſes after they have gone it a little while. There are ſeveral Reſts of Roman Antiquities at the Mole of *Cajeta*; but the Iſle of *Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the Sea off from *Naples*, gave me a ſtrange Idea of *Tiberius*'s Reign, ſince it is hard to tell whether it was more extraordinary to ſee a Prince abandon the beſt Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and ſhut himſelf up in a little Iſland, in which I was told there was a Tradition of ſeven little Palaces that he built in it; or to ſee ſo vaſt a Body as the *Roman Empire*, ſo governed by ſuch a *Tyrannical Prince*, at ſuch a diſtance from the chief Scene, ſo that all might have been reverſed long before that the News of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than to ſee ſo vaſt a State, that had ſo great a ſenſe of Liberty, ſubdued by ſo brutal and ſo voluptuous a man as *Anthony*, and ſo raw a youth as *Auguſtus*; ſo we ſee the wonder is much improved, when we ſee a Prince at a hundred and fifty miles diſtance, ſhut up in an Iſland, carry the Reins of ſo great a Body in his Hand, and turn it which way he pleaſed.

But now I come to *Rome*, which as it was once the Empreſs of the World, in a ſucceſſion of many Ages, ſo it hath in it at preſent more

curious things to entertain the attention of a Traveller, than any other place in *Europe*. On the ſide of *Tuſcany*, the entry into *Rome* is very ſurprizing to Strangers, for one cometh along for a great many Miles, upon the Remains of the *Via Flamminia*, which is not indeed ſo entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raiſe a juſt Idea of the *Roman* Greatneſs, who laid ſuch a Cauſ-waies all *Italy* over. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Populo*, there is a Noble Obelisk, a vaſt Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two Twins, reſembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on ſeveral hands one ſees a long *Viſta* of Streets. There is not a Town in theſe parts of the World where the Churches, Covents and Palaces are ſo Noble, and where the other Buildings are ſo mean, which indeed diſcovers very viſibly the Miſery under which the *Romans* groan. The Churches of *Rome* are ſo well known that I will not adventure on any deſcription of them, and indeed I had too tranſient a view of them to make it with that degree of exactneſs which the Subject requires. St. *Peter's* alone would make a big Book, not to ſay a long Letter. Its Length, Heighth, and Breadth are all ſo exactly proportioned, and the Eye is ſo equally poſſeſſed with all theſe, that the whole, upon the firſt view, doth not appear ſo vaſt as it is found to be upon a more particular attention: and as the four Pillars upon which the Cupulo riſes, are of ſuch a prodigious bigneſs that one would think they were ſtrong enough

enough to bear any ſuperſtructure whatſoever ſo when one climbs up to the top of that vaſt heighth, he wonders what foundation can bear ſo huge a weight; for as the Church is of a vaſt heighth, ſo the Cupulo riſes four hundred and fifteen big ſteps above the Roof of the Church. In the heighth of the Concave of this Cupulo, there is a Repreſentation, that though it can hardly be ſeen from the Floor below, unleſs one hath a good ſight, and ſo it doth not perhaps give much ſcandal, yet it is a groſs indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an Ancient Man compaſſed about with Angels. I will ſay nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair of St. *Peter*, of the great Tombs; of which the three chief are *Paul* III. *Urban* VII. and *Alexander* VII. nor of the vaſt Vaults under this Church, and the Remains of Antiquity that are reſerved in them; nor will I undertake a Deſcription of the adjoyning Palace; where the Painting of the Corridori, and of many of the Rooms by *Raphael*, and *Michael Angelo*, are ſo rich, that one is ſorry to ſee a work of that value laid on Freſco, and which muſt by conſequence wear out too ſoon, as in ſeveral places it is almoſt quite loſt already. I could not but obſerve in the *Sala Regia*, that is before the famous Chappel of *Sixto* V. and that is all painted in Freſco, one Corner that repreſents the Murther of the renowned Admiral *Chaſtilion*, and that hath written under it thoſe Words, *Rex Colinii Necem probat.* The vaſt

length of the Gallery on one ſide: and of the Library in another do ſurprize one; the Gardens have many Statues of a moſt exceſſive value, and ſome good Fountains; but the Gardens are ill entertained both here and in the Palace on the Quirinal. And indeed in moſt of the Palaces of *Rome*, if there were but a ſmall coſt laid out to keep all in good caſe, that is brought together at ſo vaſt a charge, they would make another ſort of ſhew, and be looked at with much more pleaſure: In the Apartments of *Rome*, there are a great many things that offend the ſight: The Doors are generally mean, and the Locks meaner, except in the Palace of Prince *Borgheſe*, whereas there is the vaſteſt Collection of the beſt Pieces, and of the Hands of the greateſt Maſters that is in all *Europe*, ſo the Doors and Locks give not that diſtaſte to the Eye, that one finds elſewhere. The Flooring of the Palaces is all of Brick, which is ſo very mean, that one ſees the diſproportion that is between the Floors and the reſt of the Room, not without a ſenſible preception and diſlike. It is true, they ſay their Air is ſo cold and moiſt in Winter, that they cannot pave with Marble; and the heat is ſometimes ſo great in Summer, that Flooring of Wood would crack with heat, as well as be eat up by the Vermin that would neſtle in it. But if they kept in their great Palaces Servants to waſh their Floors, with that care that is uſed in *Holland*, where the Air is moiſter; and the

the Climate is more productive of Vermine, they would not find ſuch effects from wooden Floors, as they pretend. In a word, there are none that lay out ſo much Wealth all at one, as the *Italians* do upon the building and finiſhing of their Palaces and Gardens, and that afterwards beſtow ſo little on the preſerving of them: another thing I obſerved in their Palace, there is indeed a great ſeries of Noble rooms one within another, of which their Apartments are compoſed, but I did not find at the end of the Apartments, where the Bed-chamber is, ſuch a diſpoſition of Rooms for Back-ſtairs, Dreſſing-rooms, Cloſets, Servants-rooms and other Conveniencies as are neceſſary for accomodating the Apartment. It is true this is not ſo neceſſary for an Apartment of State, in which Magnificence is more conſidered that Convenience; but I found the ſame want in thoſe Apartments in which they lodged; ſo that notwithſtanding all the Riches of their Palaces; it cannot be ſaid that they are well lodged in them, and their Gardens are yet leſs underſtood, and worſe kept than their Palaces. It is true, the *Villa Borgheſe* ought to be excepted, where as there is a prodigious Collection of Bas Reliefs, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered all over, that are of as vaſt value; ſo the Statues within, of which ſome are of Porphiry, and others of Touch-ſtone, are amazing things: The whole grounds of this Park, which is about three miles in compaſs; and in which there are ſix or ſeven Lodges, are laid out ſo ſweetly, that I thought I

I was in an *Engliſh* Park, when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better ſituated upon a high ground, and hath more Water-works, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the Houſe nor Statues approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the grounds ſo well laid out and ſo well kept. But for the Furniture of the Palaces of *Rome*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with Pictures, and for thoſe Apartments in which they lodg, they are genetally furniſhed either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad Gold Galloon at every Breadth of the Stuff, and a Gold Fringe at Top and Bottom, but there is very little Tapiſtry in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this Digreſſion, from the general view that I was giving you of the Pope's Palace. I named one part of it which will engage me into a new digreſſion, as it well deſerves one, and that is the Library of the Vatican: The Caſe is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a Collection of Books that filleth a man's Eye: There is firſt a great Hall, and at the end of it there runs out on both ſides, two Galleries of ſo vaſt a length, that though the half of them is already furniſhed with Books, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The *Heidleberg*-Library ſtands by it ſelf, and filleth the one ſide of the Gallery, as the Duke of *Urban*'s Library of Manuſcripts filleth the other. But tho' theſe laſt are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of ſuch Antiquity as

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thoſe of *Heidelberg*: When it appeared that I was come from *England*, King *Henry* the 8. Book of the Seven Sacraments, with an Inſcription writ upon it with his own hand, to Pope *Leo* the X. was ſhewed me; together with a Collection of ſome Letters that he writ to *Ann Bullen*, of which ſome are in *Engliſh*, and ſome in *French*. I that knew his Hand well, ſaw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There are not many *Latin* Manuſcripts of great Antiquity in this Library; ſome few of *Virgil*'s I ſaw writ in Capitals. But that which took up almoſt half of one day that I ſpent at one time in this place, related to the preſent diſpute that is on foot between Mr. *Schelſtrat* the Library-keeper, and Mr. *Maimbourg*, concerning the Council of *Conſtance*. The two Points in debate are the words of the Decree made in the fourth Seſſion, and the Popes Confirmation. In the fourth Seſſion, according to the *French* Manuſcripts, a Decree was made, ſubjecting the Pope, and all other Perſons whatſoever, to the Authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to eſtabliſh both in the Head and the Members: which as it implies that the Head was corrupted and needed to be reformed, ſo it ſets the Council ſo directly above the Pope, that this Seſſion being confirmed by the Pope, putteth thoſe who aſſert the Popes Infallibility, to no ſmall ſtraits; For if Pope *Martin* that approved this Decree was infallible, then this Decree is good ſtill; and if he was not Infallible, no other Pope was

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Infallible: To all this *Schelſtrat* anſwers from his Manuſcripts that the Words of a Reformation, in Head and Members, are not in the Decree of that Seſſion: and he did ſhew me ſeveral Manuſcripts, of which two were evidently writ during the ſitting of the Council, and were not at all daſhed, in which theſe words were not. I know the Hand and way of Writing of that Age too well to be eaſily miſtaken in my judgment concerning thoſe Manuſcripts; but if thoſe Words are wanting, there are other Words in them that ſeem to be much ſtronger for the ſuperiority of the Council above that Pope. For it is Decreed that Popes, and all other Perſons, were bound to ſubmit to the Deciſions of the Council, as to Faith: which Words are not in the *French* Manuſcripts: Upon this I told Mr. *Schelſtrat* that I thought the Words in theſe Manuſcripts were ſtronger than the other: ſince the Word Reformation, as it was uſed in the time of that Council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of Abuſes, it being often applied to the Regulations that were made in the Monaſtick Orders, when they were brought to a more exact obſervation of the Rule of their Order: So tho the Council had decreed a Reformation both of Head & Members, I do not ſee that this would import more than the Papacy had fallen into ſome Diſorders that needed a Reformation: and this is not denied even by thoſe who aſſert the Popes Infallibility: but a Submiſſion to Points of Faith, that is expreſly aſſerted in the *Roman* Manuſcripts, is a much more poſitive evidence againſt

againſt the Popes Infallibility: and the word Faith is not capable of ſo large a ſenſe as may be juſtly aſcribed to Reformation. But this difference, in ſo main a point between Manuſcripts concerning ſo late a tranſaction, gave me an occaſion to reflect on the vaſt uncertainty of Tradition, eſpecially of matters that are at a great diſtance from us; when thoſe that were ſo lately tranſacted, are ſo differently repreſented in Manuſcripts, and in which, both thoſe of *Paris* and *Rome* ſeem to carry all poſſible Evidence of ſincerity. As for the Popes Confirmation of that Decree, it is true by a General Bull, Pope *Martin* confirmed the Council of *Conſtance* to ſuch a period; but beſide that he made a particular Bull, as *Schelſtrat* aſſured me, in which he enumerated all the Decrees that he confirmed, and among thoſe this Decree concerning the Superiority of the Council is not named; this ſeemed to be of much more importance, and therefore I deſired to ſee the Original of the Bull: for there ſeems to be juſt reaſons to apprehend a Forgery here: He promiſed to do his indeavours, tho he told me that would not be eaſie, for the Bulls were ſtrickly kept; and the next day when I came, hoping to ſee it, I could not be admitted: but he aſſured me that if that had not been the laſt day of my ſtay at *Rome*, he would have procured a Warrant for my ſeeing the Original: ſo this is all I can ſay as to the authenticalneſs of that Bull: But ſuppoſing it to be genuine, I could not agree to Mr. *Schelſtrat* that the General

neral Bull of Confirmation, ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees: but ſince that particular Bull was never diſcovered till he hath found it out, it ſeems it was ſecretly made, and did not paſs according to the forms of the Conſiſtory: and was a fraudulent thing of which no noiſe was to be made in that Age, and therefore in all the Diſpute that followed in the Council of *Baſil* between the Pope and the Council, upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either ſide: And thus it can have no force, unleſs it be to diſcover the Artifices and Fraud of that Court: That at the ſame time in which the neceſſity of their Affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council, he contrived a ſecret Bull, which in another Age might be made uſe of, to weaken the Authority of the General Confirmation that he gave: and therefore a Bull that doth not paſs in due form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority: And ſo this pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull. There were ſome other things, relating to this Debate, that were ſhewed me by Mr. *Schelſtrat*, but theſe being the moſt important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the learned Men at *Rome*, *Bellori* is deſervedly famous for his knowledg of the *Greek* and *Egyptian* Antiquities, and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and Superſtitions of the *Heathens*, and hath a Cloſet richly furniſhed with things relating to thoſe Matters: *Fabretti* is juſtly celebrated for his underſtand-

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ing of the old *Roman* Architecture and Fabricks. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the Jeſuits Colledge, and is much above the common rate, both for Philoſophy, Mathematicks, and Church Hiſtory. And he to whom I was the moſt obliged, Abbot *Nazari* hath ſo general a view of the ſeveral parts of learning, tho' he hath chiefly applied himſelf to Philoſophy and Mathematicks, and is a man of ſo ingaging a Civility, and uſed my ſelf in ſo particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as thoſe others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to ſee, all the acknowledgments of Eſteem and Gratitude that I can poſſibly make them.

One ſees in Cardinal *d'Eſtres* all the advantages of a high Birth, great Parts, a generous Civility, and a meaſure of Knowledg far above what can be expected from a Perſon of his rank; but as he gave a noble Protection to one of the learnedſt men that this Age hath produced, Mr. *Launay* who lived many Years with him, ſo it is viſible that he made a great Progreſs by the Converſation of ſo extraordinary a Perſon; & as for Theological Learning there is now none of the Colledg equal to him. Cardinal *Howard* is too well known in *England* to need any Character from me. The Elevation of his preſent Condition hath not in the leaſt changed him; he hath all the ſweetneſs & gentleneſs of Temper that we ſaw in him in *England*, & he retains the unaffected ſimplicity & humility of a Friar amidſt all the dignity of the Purple, and as he ſheweth all the generous

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care and concern for his Countrey-men that they can expect from him; ſo I met with ſo much of it in ſo many obliging marks of his goodneſs for my ſelf, as went far beyond a common Civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told the Pope's Confeſſor was a very extraordinary man for the Oriental Learning, which is but little known in *Rome*: He is a Maſter of the *Arabick* Tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot *Nazari* told me, the learnedeſt Book againſt the Mahometan Religion, that the World hath yet ſeen, but it is not yet Printed: He is not ſo much eſteemed in *Rome* as he would be elſewhere, for his Learning is not in vogue, and the School-Divinity and Caſuiſtical Learning, being that for which Divines are moſt eſteemed there; he whoſe Studies lead him another way, is not ſo much valued as he ought to be, and perhaps the ſmall account that the Pope makes of Learned men, turns ſomewhat upon the Confeſſor, for it is certain that this is a Reign in which Learning is very little incouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have for the preſent Pontificat, one made a pleaſant Reflection to me, he ſaid, thoſe Popes that intend to raiſe their Families, as they ſaw the Cenſure that this brought upon them, ſo they ſtudied to leſſen it by other things that might ſoften the Spirits of the Peop'e. No man did more for beautifying *Rome*, for finiſhing St. *Peter's*, and the Library, and for furniſhing *Rome* with Water, than Pope *Paul* the V. tho at the

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ſame time he did not forget his Family; and though the other Popes that have raiſed great Families, have not done this to ſo eminent a degree as he did, yet there are many Remains of their Magnificence, whereas thoſe Popes that have not raiſed Families, have it ſeems thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and ſo they have not done much either to recommend their Government to their Subjects, or their Reign to Poſterity; and it is very plain that the preſent Pope taketh no great care of this. His Life hath been certainly very innocent, and free of all thoſe publick ſcandals that make a noiſe in the World; and there is at preſent a Regularity in *Rome*, that deſerveth great commendation, for publick Vices are not to be ſeen there: His perſonal Sobriety is alſo ſingular. One aſſured me that the Expence of his Table did not amount to a Crown a day, tho this is indeed ſhort of *Sixtus* V. who gave orders to his Steward never to exceed five and twenty Bajoyes, that is eighteen pence a day for his Diet. The Pope is very careful of his Health, and doth never expoſe it; for upon the leaſt Diſorder he ſhuts himſelf up in his Chamber, and often keepeth his Bed for the leaſt Indiſpoſition many daies; but his Government is ſevere, and his Subjects are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the Poverty of a Nation, not only diſpeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weakning

ning the natural Fertility of the Subjects, for as men and women well clothed and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labour, and with the tearing anxities that want brings with it, must be much more lively than those that are pressed with want; so it is very likely that the one must be much more disposed to propagate than the other: and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the fruitfulness of *Grneva* and *Switzerland*, with the barrenness that reigns over all *Italy*, I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious Productions of *Geneva*: Mr. *Tronchin* that was Professor of Divinity, and Father to the judicious and worthy Professors of the same name, that is now there, died at the Age of seventy six years, and had a hundred and fifteen persons all alive, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him, called him Father. And Mr. *Calendrin*, a pious and laborous Preacher of that Town, that is descended from the Family of the *Calendrini*; who receiving the Reformation about a hundred and and fifty years ago, left *Lucca* their Native City, with the *Turretini*; the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamachi*, and some others that came and setled at *Geneva*: He is now but seven and forty years old, and yet he hath a hundred and five persons that are descended of his Brothers and Sisters, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to Eighty, and the Family multiplieth as it hath done; he may see some hundreds that will be in the same Relation

lation to him; but ſuch things as theſe are not to be found in *Italy.*

There is nothing that delights a Stranger more in *Rome*, than to ſee the great Fountains of Water that are almoſt in all the corners of it: That old Aquaduct which *Paul* the V. reſtored cometh from a Collection of Sources, five and thirty Miles diſtant from *Rome*, that runs all the way upon an Aqueduct in a Channel that is vaulted, and is liker a River than a Fountain: It breaketh out in five ſeveral Fountains, of which ſome give water about a Foot Square. That of *Sixtus* the V. the great Fountain of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no Decoration, but diſchargeth a prodigious quantity of Water. The glorious Fountain of the *Piazza Navona* that hath an air of greatneſs in it that ſurprizeth one, the Fountain in the *Piazza de Spagna*, thoſe before St. *Peters*, and the *Palazzo Farneſe* with many others, furniſh *Rome* ſo plentifully, that almoſt every private Houſe hath a Fountain that runs continually: All theſe, I ſay, are Noble Decorations, that carry an uſefulneſs with them that cannot be enough commended: and gives a much greater *Idea* of thoſe who have taken care to ſupply this City, with one of the chiefeſt Pleaſures and Conveniences of Life, than of others who have laid out Millions meerly to bring Quantities of Water to give the Eye a little Diverſion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and uſefully, and would have more effectually eternized their Fame, if they had been

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imploied as the *Romans* did their Treasures in furnishing great Towns with Water.

There is an universal Civility that reigns among all sorts of People at *Rome*, which in a great measure flows from their Government, for every man being capable of all the advancements of that State, since a simple Ecclesiastick may become one of the Monsignori: and one of these may be a Cardinal, and one of these may be chosen Pope: this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an exactness of respect: for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes professions of esteem and kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of *Rome* is generally upon News, for tho there is no news printed there, yet in the several Antichambers of the Cardinals (where if they make any considerable Figure, there are Assemblies of those that make their Court to them, one is sure to hear all the news of *Europe*, together with many Speculations upon what passeth. At the Queen of *Sweden*'s all that relateth to *Germany* or the North is ever to be found, and that Princess that must ever reign among all that have a true taste either of Wit or Learning, hath still in her drawing Rooms the best Court of the strangers, and her civility together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her Conversation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in *Rome*; I will not use her own Word,

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to my ſelf, which was, that ſhe now grew to be one of the Antiquities of *Rome*. The Ambaſſadors of Crowns, who live here in another form than in any other Court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of ſeveral Nations, that do all meet and center here, maketh that there is more News in *Rome* than any where: For Prieſts, and the men of Religious Orders, write larger and more particular Letters, than any other ſort of men. But ſuch as apply themſelves to make their Court here, are condemned to a loſs of time that had need be well recompenced, for it is very great. As for one that Studies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or Muſick, there is more Entertainment for him at *Rome*, then in all the reſt of *Europe*, but if he hath not a taſte of theſe things, he will ſoon be weary of a place where the Converſation is alwaies general, and where there is little ſincerity or openneſs practiſed, and by conſequence, where friendſhip is little underſtood. The Women here begin to be a little more converſable, tho a Nation naturally jealous, will hardly allow a great liberty in a City that is compoſed of Eccleſiaſticks: who being denied the priviledge of Wives of their own, are ſuſpected of being ſometimes too bold with the Wives of others: The Liberties that were taken in the Conſtable of *Naples*'s Palace, had indeed diſguſted the *Romans* much, at that freedom, which had no bounds. But the Dutcheſs of *Bracciano*, that is a French Woman, hath by the exactneſs of her deportment, amidſt all the innocent Freedoms

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of a noble Converſation, recovered in a great meaſure, the Credit of thoſe Liberties that Ladies, beyond the Mountains practiſe with all the ſtrictneſs of Vertue; for ſhe receiveth Viſits at publick Hours, and in publick Rooms, and by the livelineſs of her Converſation, maketh that her Court is the pleaſanteſt Aſſembly of Strangers, that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not engage in a Deſcription of *Rome*, either ancient or modern, this hath been done ſo oft, and with ſuch exactneſs, that nothing can be added to what hath been already publiſhed. It is certain that when one is in the Capitol, and ſees thoſe poor Reſts of what once it was, he is ſurprized to ſee a Building of ſo great a fame ſunk ſo low, that one can ſcarce imagin that it was once a Caſtle, ſituated upon a Hill able to hold out againſt a Siege of the *Gauls*: The *Tarpeian* Rock is now of ſo ſmall a fall, that a Man would think it no great matter for his Diverſion to leap over it: and the ſhape of the Ground hath not been ſo much altered on one ſide, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For *Severus*'s Triumphal Arch, which is at the foot of the Hill on the other ſide, is not now buried above two foot within the ground, as the vaſt Amphitheatre of *Titus* is not above three foot ſunk under the level of the ground. Within the capitol one ſees many noble Remnants of Antiquity, but none is more glorious, as well as more uſeful, then the Tables of their Conſuls which

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are upon the Walls: and the Inſcription on the *Columna Roſtrata*, in the time of the firſt *Punick* War, is without doubt the moſt valuable Antiquity in *Rome*. From this all along the ſacred way, one findeth ſuch Remnants of old *Rome* in the Ruines of the Temples, in the Triumphal Arches, in the *Portico's*, and other Remains of that glorious Body, that as one cannot ſee theſe too often, ſo every time one ſees them, they kindle in him vaſt Ideas of that Republick, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleaſure. From the heighth of the Convents of *Arceli*, a man hath a full view of all the extent of *Rome*, but literally it is now *ſeges ubi Troja fuit*; for the parts of the City, that were moſt inhabited anciently, are thoſe that are now laid in great Gardens, or, as they call them Vineyards, of which ſome are half a mile in compaſs: The vaſtneſs of the *Roman* Magnificence and Luxury, is that which paſſeth imagination, the prodigious Amphitheater of *Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty five thouſand Spectators; the great extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the Vaults where the Waters are that furniſheth *Titus's* Baths; and above all, *Diocleſian's* Baths, tho built when the Empire was in its decay, are ſo far above all modern Buildings, that there is not ſo much as room for a compariſon. The extent of thoſe Baths, is above half a mile in compaſs: the vaſtneſs of the Rooms in which the Bathers might ſwim, of which the *Carthuſians* Church, that yet remains intire, is one, and the many great

great Pillars all of one Stone of Marble beautifully ſpotted, are things of which theſe latter Ages are not capable. The Beauty of their Temples, and of the *Portico*'s before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the Fabrick without looketh as mean, being only Brick, as the Architecture is bold: for it riſeth up in a Vault, and yet at the top there is an open left of thirty foot in diameter, which, as it is the only Window of the Church, ſo it filleth it with Light, and is the hardieſt piece of Architecture that ever was made: The Pillars of the Portico are alſo the nobleſt in *Rome*, they are the higheſt and biggeſt that one can ſee any where all of one ſtone: and the numbers of thoſe ancient Pillars, with which, not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly St. *Mary Maggiore*, and St. *John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private Houſes are adorned, and of the Fragments, of which there are ſuch multitudes in all the Streets of *Rome*, giveth a great Idea of the Expenceſulneſs of the old *Romans* in their Buildings: for the hewing and fetching a few of thoſe Pillars, muſt have coſt more than whole Palaces do now; ſince moſt of them were brought from *Greece*: Many of theſe Pillars are of Porphiry, others of Jaſp, others of granated Marble: but the greateſt number is of white Marble: The two Columns *Trajans* and *Antonius*: The two Horſes that are in the Mount *Cavallo*, and the other two Horſes in the Capitol, which have not indeed the poſtures and motions of the other. The Braſs

Horſe

Horſe that as is believed carried *Marcus Aurelius*; the remains of *Nero's Colouſſus*, the Temple of *Bacchus* near the Catacomb of St. *Agnes*, which is the entireſt and leaſt altered of all the ancient Temples: The great Temple of Peace; thoſe of the Sun and Moon: that of *Romulus* and *Remus* (which I conſidered as the ancienteſt Fabrick that is now left, for it is little and ſimple, and ſtandeth in ſuch a place, that when *Rome* grew ſo coſtly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was reverenced for its Antiquity) the many other Portico's, the Arches of *Severus*, of *Titus*, of *Conſtantine*, in the laſt of which one ſees that the Sculpture of his Age was much ſunck from what it had been, only in the top there are ſome bas Reliefs that are clearly of a much ancienter time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the reſt, the many great Aqueducts that come from all hands and run over a vaſt diſtance, are things which a man cannot ſee of enough, if he would form in himſelf a juſt Idea of the vaſtneſs of that Republic, or rather Empire. There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great value dug up in all the quarters of *Rome* theſe laſt hundred and fourſcore years, ſince Pope *Leo* the X's time: who as he was the greateſt Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, ſo was the moſt generous Prince that ever reigned; and it was he that firſt ſet on foot the inquiring into the Riches of Old *Rome*, that lay, till his time, for the moſt part, hid under ground; and indeed he hath been leſs ſcandalous, in his Impiety and Athe-

theiſm, of which neither he nor his Court were ſo much aſhamed, he had been one of the moſt celebrated Perſons of any Age. Soon after him Pope *Paul* the III. gave the ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his Family. But I was told that this large piece of ground, in which one ſhould look for the greateſt Collection of the Antiquities of the higheſt value, ſince this is the ruine of the Palace of the *Roman* Emperors, have never been yet ſearched into with any exactneſs: So that when a curious Prince cometh that is willing to employ many hands in digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of Roman Antiquities. But all this matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named theſe things, becauſe I can add nothing to thoſe copious deſcriptions that have been ſo oft made of them. Nor will I ſay any thing of the modern Palaces or the Ornaments of them, either in Pictures or Statues, which are things that carrry one ſo far, that it is not eaſie to give bounds to the deſcriptions into which one findeth himſelf carried, when he once enters upon ſo fruitful a ſubject. The number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a Traveller, till a nevv one drives the former out of his thoughts: It is true the *Paleſtrina*, the *Borgheſe*, and the *Farneſe* have ſomevvhat in them that leave an impreſſion vvhich no nevv Objects can vvear out: and as the laſt hath a Noble Square before it vvith tvvo great Fountains in it, ſo the Statue of *Hercules* and the Bull that are belovv, and the Gallery above ſtairs are unva-

luable; the Roof of the Gallery is one of the beſt pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of *Carrachio's* hand, and there are in that Gallery the greateſt number of Heads of the Greek Philoſophers and Poets that I ever ſaw together: That of *Homer* and that of *Socrates* were the two that ſtruck me moſt, chiefly the latter, which as it is, without diſpute, a true Antick, ſo it carrieth in it all the Characters that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*; the flat Noſe, the broad Face, the ſimplicity of look, and the mean appearance which that great Philoſopher made, ſo that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the wonders of the Bull, which is indeed a Rock of Marble cut out into a whole Scene of Statues; but as the Hiſtory of it is not well known, ſo there are ſuch faults in the Sculpture, that tho it is all extream fine, yet one ſeeth it hath not the exactneſs of the beſt times. As for the Churches and Convents of *Rome*, as the number, the vaſtneſs, the riches both of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting and other Ornaments amaze one, ſo here again a Stranger is loſt; and the Convent that one ſeeth laſt, is always the moſt admired: I confeſs the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the Inquiſition ſitteth, is that which maketh the moſt ſenſible impreſſion upon one that paſſeth at *Rome*, for an Heretick, tho except one committeth great Follie he is in no danger there, and the poverty that reigns in that City maketh them find their intereſt ſo much in uſing Strangers well, what-

ſoever their Religion may be that no man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary reaſon to acknowledge this who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken to write my thoughts freely both of the Church and See of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I converſed there, yet met with the higheſt Civilities poſſible among all ſorts of People, and in particular both among the Engliſh and Scotiſh Jeſuites, tho they knew well enough that I was no Friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the Engliſh Jeſuites among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that name is ſo well known, that they would not have expoſed a Picture, with ſuch a name on it, to all Strangers, yet *Oldcorn*, being a name leſs known, is hung there among their Martyrs, tho he was as clearly convicted of the Gunpowder-Treaſon, as ther other was: and it ſeemed a little ſtrange to me, to ſee that a time in which, for other Reaſons the Writers of that Communion have not thought fit, to deny the truth of that Conſpiracy a Jeſuit convicted of the blackeſt Crime that ever was projected, ſhould be reckoned among their Martyrs. I ſaw likewiſe there the Original of thoſe Emblematical Prophecies, relating to *England*, that the Jeſuites have had at *Rome* near ſixty years, and of which I had ſome time ago procured a Copy, ſo I found my Copy was true. I hapned to be at *Rome* during St. *Gregory's* Fair and Feaſt, which laſted

laſted ſeveral days. In his Church the Hoſt was expoſed: and from that, all that came thither, went to the Chappel that was once his Houſe, in which his Statue and the Table where he ſerved the Poor, are preſerved: I ſaw ſuch vaſt numbers of people there, that one ſhould have thought all *Rome* was got together. They all kneeled down to his Statue, and after a Prayer ſaid to it, they kiſſed his foot, and every one touched the Table with his Beads, as hoping to draw ſome Vertue from it. I will add nothing of the ſeveral Obelisks and Pillars that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated Chappels that are in ſome of the great Churches, in particular thoſe of *Sixtus* the V. and *Paul* the V. in *Santa Maria Maggiore*, of the Water works in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of *Rome* to deſcribe *Freſcati*, (for *Trivoly* I did not ſee) The young Prince *Borgheſe*, who is indeed one of the Glories of *Rome* as well for his Learning as for his Vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with thoſe two learned Abbots *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a Magnificence that became him better to give, than me to receive. The Water-works in the *Aldobrandin* Palace have a Magnificence in them beyond all that ever I ſaw in *France*, the Mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunders and Storms that this maketh is noble: The Water-works of the *Ludoviſio*, and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewiſe a

greatneſs in them that is natural, and indeed the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in *Italy*, and the poverty that one ſeeth every where abroad are the moſt unſuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely that a great part of their movable Wealth will be ere long carried into *France*; for as ſoon as any Picture or Statue of great value is offered to be ſold, thoſe that are employed by the King of *France*, do preſently buy it up, ſo that as the King hath already, the greateſt Collection of Pictures that is in *Europe*, he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief Treaſures of *Italy*.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared moſt remarkable to me in *Rome*. I ſhall to this add a very extraordinary piece of Natural Hiſtory that fell out there within theſe two years, which I had firſt from thoſe two learned Abbots *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal *Howard*, who was one of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined and judged the matter. There were two Nuns near *Rome*, one as I remember was in the City, and the other not far from it, who, after they had been for ſome years in a Nunnery, perceived a very ſtrange change in Nature, and that their Sex was altered, which grew by ſome Degrees to a total alteration in one: and tho' the other was not ſo entire a change, yet it was viſible ſhe was more Man than Woman; upon this the matter was looked into: That which

which naturally offereth it ſelf here, is that theſe two had been alwaies what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a diſguiſe to gratifie a brutal appetite. But to this, when I propoſed it, anſwer was made, that as the breaſts of a Woman that remained ſtill, did in a great meaſure ſhake off that Objection, ſo the proofs were given ſo fully of their having been real Females that there was no doubt left of that, nor had they given any ſort of ſcandal in the change of their Sex; And if there had been any room left to ſuſpect a cheat or diſguiſe, the proceedings would have been more ſevere and more ſecret: and theſe perſons would have been burnt, or at leaſt put to death in ſome terrible manner. Some Phyſitians and Chyrurgeons were appointed to examin the matter, and at laſt, after a long and exact inquiry, they were judged to be abſolved from their Vows, and were diſmiſſed from the Obligation of a Religious life, and required to go in the mens habit. One of them was a *Valet de Chambre* to a *Roman* Marqueſs, when I was there; I heard of this matter only two daies before I left *Rome*, ſo that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it ſo extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating it to ſo curious an Inquirer into Nature.

And ſince I am upon the ſubject of the Changes that have been made in Nature, I ſhall add one of another ſort that I examined

while I was at *Geneva*: There is a Miniſter of St. *Gervais*, Mr. *Gody*, who hath a Daughter, that is now ſixteen years old? Her Nurſe had an extraordinary thickneſs of Hearing, at a year old, the Child ſpoke all thoſe little words that Children begin uſually to learn at that Age, but ſhe made no progreſs: yet this was not obſerved, till it was to late, and as ſhe grew to be two years old, they perceived then that ſhe had loſt her hearing, and was ſo deaf that ever ſince though ſhe hears great Noiſes, yet ſhe hears nothing that one can ſpeak to her. It ſeems while the Milk of her Nurſe was more abundant, and that the Child ſuckt more moderately the firſt year, thoſe Humours in the Blood and Milk had not that effect on her, that appearrd after ſhe came to ſuck more violently: and that her Nurſes Milk being in leſs quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that Vapour that occaſioned the Deafneſs. But this Child hath by obſerving the motions of the Mouths and Lips of others, acquired ſo many words that out of theſe ſhe hath formed a ſort of Jargon in which ſhe can hold converſation whole days with thoſe that can ſpeak her own Language. I could underſtand ſome of her words, but could not comprehend a period, for it ſeemed to be a confuſed Noiſe: She knows nothing that ſaid to her, unleſs ſhe ſeeth the motion of their Mouths that ſpeak to her; ſo that in the Night, when it is neceſſary to ſpeak to her, they muſt light a Candle. Only one thing

thing appeared the ſtrangeſt part of the whole Narration: She hath a Siſter with whom ſhe hath practiſed her Language more than with any other: and in the night by laying her hand on her Siſters mouth, ſhe can perceive by that, what ſhe ſays, and ſo can diſcourſe with her in the night. It is true, her Mother told me that this did not go far, and that ſhe found not only ſome ſhort period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long: thus this young Woman without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural Sagacity found out a method of holding diſcourſe, that doth in a great meaſure leſſen the miſery of her Deafneſs. I examined this matter critically, but only the Siſter was not preſent, ſo that I could not ſee how the converſation paſt between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning this place, I cannot hinder my ſelf from giving you an account of a converſation that I had with one of the moſt Celebrated perſons that lives in it. I was talking concerning the Credit that the Order of the Jeſuites had every where; It was ſaid that all the World miſtruſted them, and yet a ſtrange ſort of contradiction all the World truſted them, and tho' it was well known that every Jeſuite was truer to the Intereſts of his Order than he could be to the Intereſts of any Prince whatſoever, yet thoſe Princes that would be very careful not to ſuffer Spies to come into their Courts or into their Councils ſuffered thoſe Spies to come into their Breaſts and Conſciences:

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and tho Princes were not generally very tender in thoſe parts, yet as they had oft as much guilt ſo they had ſometimes as much fear as other People, vvhich a dextrous Spy knevv vvell hovv to manage. Upon vvhich that perſon that pretended to be a zealous Catholick added, that for their part they conſidered only the Character that the Church gave to a Prieſt; and if the Church qualified him to do the functions of a Prieſt, they thought it very needleſs to enquire after other perſonal qualities, vvhich vvere but common things, vvhereas the other vvas all Divine. On the contrary they thought it vvas ſo much the better to have to do vvith a poor ignorant Prieſt: for then they had to do only vvith the Church and not vvith the man. Purſuant to this that perſons Confeſſor vvas the greateſt and the moſt notorious Block-head that could be found, and when they were asked why they made uſe of ſo weak a man, they anſwered becauſe they could not find a weaker: and when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a Groom or a Footman that got into Prieſts Orders, they would certainly make uſe of him. For they would ask councel of a Friend; but they knew no other uſe of a Confeſſor, but to confeſs to him, and to receive abſolution from him: and in ſo doing they pretended they acted as became a true Catholick, that conſidered only the power of the Church in the Prieſt, without regarding any thing elſe.

So far have I entertained you with the

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ſhort Ramble that I made, vvhich vvas too ſhort to deſerve the name of Travelling, and therefore the Inquiries or obſervations that I could make, muſt be received vvith the abatement that ought to be made for ſo ſhort a ſtay: and all will be of a peice, when the remarks are as ſlight, as the aboad I made in the places through which I paſt was ſhort. I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known, ſo if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I ſaw and knew to be true, or that I had from ſuch hands, that I have very good reaſon to believe it: and I fancy that the things which made the greateſt impreſſion on my ſelf, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as upon many accounts, I owe all the Expreſſions of eſteem and gratitude that I can ever pay; ſo I had a more particular reaſon that determined me to give you, ſo full an account of all I ſaw and obſerved: for as you were pleaſed at parting to do me the Honour to deſire me to communicate to you ſuch things as appeared moſt remarkable to me, ſo I found ſuch a vaſt advantage in many places, but more particularly at *Venice*, *Rome* and *Naples*, by the happineſs I have of being known to you, and of being ſo far conſidered by you, that I could give a copious account both of your Perſon and Studies, to thoſe in whom your Curious Diſcoveries had kindled that

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eſteem for you, which all the World payeth both to you and to your immortal Inquiries into Nature, vvhich are among the peculiar Bleſſings of this Age: and that are read with no leſs care and pleaſure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was ſo well received, that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did my ſelf in aſſuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends, and I owe a great part of that diſtinction which I met with, to this favourable Character that I gave my ſelf; ſo that if I made any progreſs in the Inquiries that ſo ſhort a ſtay could enable one to make, I owe it in ſo peculiar a manner to you, that this return that I make, is but a very ſmall part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the laſt moment of my Life.

THE

THE FIFTH LETTER.

From *Nimmegen*, the 20. of *May*, 1686.

SIR,

I Thought I had made ſo full a point at the concluſion of my laſt Letter, that I ſhould not have given you the trouble of reading any more Letters of the Volume of the former: But new Scenes and new matter offering themſelves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I ingage you again to two or three Hours reading. From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marſelles*, where if there were a Road as ſafe as the Harbour is covered; and if the Habour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the moſt important places in the World; all is ſo well defended, that it is with reſpect either to Storms or Enemies the ſecureſt Port that can be ſeen any where. The Freedoms of this place, tho it is now at the mercy of the Cittadel, are ſuch, and its ſcituation draweth ſo much Trade to it, that there one ſeeth

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another appearance of Wealth than I found in any Town of *France*, and there is a new ſtreet lately built there, and for the beauty of the buildings, and the largeneſs of the ſtreet, is the Nobleſt I ever ſaw. There is in that Port a perpetual heat, and the Sun was ſo ſtrong in the Chriſtians week, that I was often driven off the Key. I made a Turn from thence through *Province*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no account of *Niſmes*, nor of the Amphitheatre in it, or the *Pont du Gar.* near it; which as they are ſtupendious things, ſo they are ſo copiouſly deſcribed by many, and are ſo generally known to the Engliſh Nation, that if you have never gone that way your ſelf, yet you muſt needs have received ſo particular a relation of them from thoſe that have ſeen them on their way to *Montpelier*, that I judge it needleſs to enlarge upon them: Nor will I ſay any thing of the Soil, and the Towns, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

I have a much a ſtronger inclination to ſay ſomewhat concerning the Perſecution which I ſavv in its rage and utmoſt fury; and of vvhich I could give you many inſtances that are ſo much beyond all the common Meaſures of Barbarity and Cruelty, that I confeſs they ought not to be believed, unleſs I could give more poſitive proofs of them, than are fitting novv to be brought forth: and the particulars that I could tell you are ſuch, that if I ſhould relate them vvith the neceſſary circumſtances of time,

time, place, and perſons, theſe might be ſo fatal to many that are yet in the power of their Enemies, that my regard to them reſtrains me. In ſhort, I do not think that in any Age there ever was ſuch a violation of all that is ſacred, either with relation to God or Man: And what I ſaw and knew there from the firſt hand, hath ſo confirmed all the Ideas that I had taken from Books of the Cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the impreſſion that this hath made upon me ſhall never end but with my life: The applauſes that the whole Clergy give to this way of proceeding, the many Panegericks that are already writ upon it, of which, beſides the more pompous ones that appear at *Paris*, there are numbers writ by ſmaller Authors in every Town of any note there; and the Sermons that are all flights of flattery upon this Subject, are ſuch evident Demonſtrations of their Senſe of this matter; that what is now on foot may be well termed the Act of the whole Clergy of *France*, which yet hath been hitherto eſteemed the moſt moderate part of the Roman Communion. If any are more moderate than others; and have not ſo far laid off the Humane Nature as not to go in entirely into thoſe Bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whiſper it in ſecret as if it were half Treaſon: but for the greater part, they do not only magnifie all that is done, but they animate even the Dragoons to higher Degrees of rage: and there was ſuch a heat ſpread over all the Country,

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on this occaſion, that one could not go into any Ordinary, or mix in any promiſcuous Converſation, without finding ſuch Effects of it, that it was not eaſie for ſuch as were touch'd with the leaſt degree of Compaſſion for the Miſeries that the poor Proteſtants ſuffered to be a Witneſs to the Inſultings that they muſt meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagine that this hath not been approved in *Italy*, and it is true, there were not any publick Rejoycings upon it at *Rome*: No Indulgences nor *Te-Deums* were heard of: And the *Spaniſh* Faction being ſo prevalent there, it is not ſtrange if a Courſe of Proceedings, that is without an Example, was ſet forth, by all that were of that intereſt, in its proper Colours; of which I met with ſome Inſtances my ſelf, and could not but ſmile to ſee ſome of the *Spaniſh* Faction ſo far to forget their Courts of Idquiſition as to argue againſt the Converſions by the Dragoons, as a Reproach to the Catholick Religion; yet the Pope was of another mind, for the Duke *d' Eſtres* gave him an account of the King's Proceedings in this matter very copiouſly, as he himſelf related it. Upon which the Pope approved all, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter; and the Pope added that he found ſome Cardinals [as I remember the Duke *d' Eſtres* ſaid two] were not pleaſed with it, and had taken the Liberty to cenſure it, but the Pope ſaid, they were to blame: The Duke *d' Eſtres* did not name the two Cardinals,

dinals, tho he ſaid he believed he knew who they were: and it is very like that Cardinal *Pio* was one, for I was told that he ſpoke freely enough of this matter. I muſt take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not ſee that the *French* King is to be ſo much blamed in this matter as his Religion is, which, without queſtion, obligeth him to extirpate Hereticks, and not to keep his Faith to them: ſo that, inſtead of cenſuring him, I muſt only lament his being bred up in a Religion that doth certainly oblige him to deveſt himſelf of Humanity, and to violate his Faith, whenſoever the cauſe of his Church and Religion requireth it. Or if there is any thing in this conduct that cannot be entirely juſtified from the Principles of that Religion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to death out of hand, but that he forceth them, by all the extremities poſſible, to ſign an abjuration, that all the World muſt needs ſee is done againſt their Conſciences: and this being the only end of their Miſeries, thoſe that would think any ſort of death a happy concluſion of their ſufferings, ſeeing no proſpect of ſuch a glorious Iſſue out of their Trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingring deaths of which they ſee no end, to make Shipwrack of the Faith: This appearance of Mercy, in not putting men to death, doth truly verifie the Character that *Solomon* giveth of the Tender Mercies of the Wicked, that they are Cruel.

But I will ſtop here, tho it is not eaſie to retire from ſo copious a Subject, that as it affordeth ſo much matter, ſo upon many accounts raiſeth a heat of thought that is not eaſily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth leſs Paſſion.

I paſt the Winter at *Geneva*, with more ſatisfaction than I had thought it vvas poſſible for me to have found any vvhere out of *England*: tho that received great allaies from the moſt lamentable Stories that vve had every day from *France*: but there is a Sorrovv by vvhich the Heart is made better. I ought to make the moſt publick acknovvledgments poſſible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met vvith in any one particular: but that is too lovv a Subject to entertain you with it. That which pleaſed me moſt, was of a more publick nature, before I left *Geneva*, the numbers of the Engliſh there was ſuch, that I found we could make a ſmall Congregation. For we were twelve or fourteen, ſo I addreſſed my ſelf to the Council of twenty five, for liberty to have our own Worſhip in our own Language, according to the Engliſh Liturgy. This was immediatly granted in ſo obliging a manner, that there was not one Perſon that made any exception to it, ſo they ſent one of their Body to me, to let me know that in caſe our number ſhould grow to be ſo great, that it were fit for us to aſſemble in a Church they would grant us one which had been done in Q. *Mary*'s Reign:

but

but till then we might hold our Aſſemblies as we thought fit. So after that time, during the reſt of my ſtay there, we had every *Sunday* our Devotions according to the Common-Prayer Morning and Evening: and at the Evening-Prayer. I preacht in a Room that was indeed too large for our ſmall Company, but there being a conſiderable number in *Geneva* that underſtand Engliſh, and in particular ſome of the Profeſſors and Miniſters, we had a great many Strangers that met with us: and the laſt *Sunday* I gave the Sacrament according to the way of the Church of *England*, and upon this occaſion I found a general joy in the Town, for this that I had given them an opportunity of expreſſing the reſpect they had for our Church, and as in their Publick Prayers they always prayed for the Churches of *Great Britain*, as well as for the King, ſo in private diſcourſe they ſhewed all poſſible eſteem for our Conſtitutions, and they ſpoke of the unhappy Diviſions among us, and of the Separation that was made from us, upon the account of our Government and Ceremonies with great regret and diſlike. I ſhall name to you only two of their Profeſſours that as they are Men of great diſtinction, ſo they were the Perſons with whom I converſed the moſt. The one is Mr. *Turretin*, a man of great Learning, that by his Indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out and waſted his ſtrength: amidſt all the affluence of

of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was born, one diſcerns in him all the Modeſty of an humble and mortified Temper, and of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his abundance or rather beyond it: and there is in him ſuch a melting zeal for Religion, as the preſent conjuncture calls for, with all the ſerioufneſs of Piety and Devotion which ſhews it ſelf both in private Converſation and in his moſt edifying Sermons by which he enters deep into the Conſciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. *Tronchin*, a man of a ſtrong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment; who has all his thoughts well digeſted: his Converſation has an engaging Charm in it that cannot be reſiſted. He is a man of extrordinary Vertue and of a readineſs to oblige and ſerve all Perſons, that has ſcarce any meaſures. His Sermons have a ſublimity in them that ſtrikes the Hearer as well as it edifies him. His thought are noble, and his Eloquence is Maſculine and exact, and has all the Majeſty of the Chair in it tempered with all the ſoftneſs of perſwaſion, ſo that he not only convinces his Hearers, but ſubdues them and triumphs over them. In ſuch Company it was no wonder if time ſeemed to go off too faſt, ſo that I left *Geneva*, with a concern that I could not have felt in leaving any place out of the Iſle of *Britain*.

From *Geneva*, I went a ſecond time through

Swit-

Switzerland to *Baſil*: at *Avanche* I ſaw the Noble Fragments of a great *Roman* Work, which ſeems to have been the Portico to ſome Temple: the Heads of the Pillars are about four foot Square of the *Ionick* Order: The Temple hath been dedicated to *Neptune* or ſome Sea-God; for on the Fragments of the *Architrave*, which are very beautiful, there are Dolphins and Sea-Horſes in Bas-reliefs; and the Neighbourhood of the place to the Lakes of *Iverdum* and *Morat* maketh this more evident: there is alſo a Pillar ſtanding up in its full heigth, or rather the corner of a building, in which one ſeeth the Reſts of a regular Artitecture in two Ranks of Pillars: If the ground near this were carefully ſearcht, no doubt it would diſcover more Reſts of that Fabrick. Not far from this is *Morat*; and a little on this ſide of it is a Chappel, full of the bones of the *Burgundians* that were killed by the *Switzers*, when this place was beſieged by the famous *Charls* Duke of *Burgundy*, who loſt a great Army before it, that was entirely cut off by the beſieged; the Inſcription is very extraordinary, eſpecially for that Age: for the bones being ſo piled up that the Chappel is quite filled with them: the Inſcription bears that *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy's* Army having beſieged *Morat*, *Hoc ſui Monumentum reliquit*, had left that Monument behind it. It cannot but ſeem ſtrange to one that views *Morat* to Imagine how it was poſſible for a Town ſo ſituated, and ſo

ſlightly fortified, to hold out againſt ſo powerful a Prince and ſo great an Army that brought Canon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Baſil*, except that I ſtaid ſome time at *Bern*, and knew it better; and at this ſecond time it was, that my Lord Advoyer *d' Elrach* gave order to ſhew me the Original Records of the famous Proceſs of the four *Dominicans*; upon which I have retoucht the Letter that I writ to you laſt year, ſo that I now ſend it to you with the Corrections and Inlargements, that this ſecond ſtay at *Bern* gave me occaſion to make.

Baſil is the Town of the greateſt extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The *Rhine* maketh a crook before it: and the Town is ſcituated on a riſing ground, which hath a noble effect on the eye, when one is on the Bridge, for it looketh like a Theater. Little *Baſil* on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, is almoſt a fourth part of the whole: the Town is ſurrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but it is ſo expoſed on ſo many ſides, and hath now ſo dreadful a Neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the Fort of *Huning*, that it hath nothing to truſt to, humanly ſpeaking, but its Union with the other Cantons. The Maxims of this Canton have hindred its being better Peopled than it is, the advantages of the Burgerſhip are ſuch, that the Citizens will not ſhare them with Strangers, and by this

this means they do not admit them. For I vvas told that during the laſt War, that *Alſatia* vvas ſo often the ſeat of both Armies, *Baſil* having then a neutrality, it might have been vvell filled, if it had not been for this Maxim: and it vvere a great happineſs to all the Cantons, if they could have different degrees of Burgerſhip, ſo that the lovver degrees might be given to ſtrangers for their incouragement to come and live among them: and the higher degrees vvhich qualifie men for the advantagious Employments of the State, might be reſerved for the ancient Families of the Natives. *Baſil* is divided into ſixteen Companies, and every one of theſe hath four Members in the little Council, ſo that it conſiſteth of ſixty four: But of thoſe four, tvvo are choſen by the Company it ſelf, vvho are called the Maſters, and the other tvvo are choſen by the Council out of the Company; and thus as there are tvvo ſorts of Councellors, choſen in thoſe different manners, there are alſo tvvo chief Magiſtrates. There are tvvo Burgermaſters that Reign by turns, and tvvo Zunft-Maſters that have alſo their turns, and all is for life: and the laſt are the heads of the Companies, like the *Roman* Tribunes of the People. The Fabrick of the State-Houſe is ancient: there is very good Painting in freſco upon the Walls: one piece hath given much offence to the Papiſts, tho they have no reaſon to blame the Reformation for it: ſince it vvas

was done ſeveral years before it, in the Year 1510. It is a Repreſentation of the Day of Judgment, and after Sentence given, the Devil is repreſented driving many before him to Hell, among theſe there is a Pope, and ſeveral Eccleſiaſticks. But it is believed that the Council which ſate ſo long in this place, acting ſo vigorouſly againſt the Pope, ingaged the Town into ſuch a hatred of the Papacy, that this might give the Riſe to this Repreſentation. The more learned in the Town aſcribe the beginning of the Cuſtom in *Baſil* of the Clocks anticipating the time a full Hour, to the ſitting of the Council, and they ſay that in order to the advancing of Buſineſs, and the ſhorting their Seſſions, they ordered their Clocks to be ſet forward an Hour: which continueth to this day. The Cathedral is a great old *Gothick* Building; the Chamber where the Council ſate, is of no great Reception, and is a very ordinary Room: *Eraſmus*'s Tomb is only a plain Inſcription upon a great Braſs Plate: There are many of *Holbens*'s Pictures here, who was a Native of *Baſil*, and was recommended by *Eraſmus* to King *Henry* the *VIII.* the two beſt are a *Corpo*, or *Chriſt dead*, which is certainly one of the beſt Pictures in the World: There is another piece of his in the State-Houſe, for this is in the publick Library, of about three or four Foot ſquare; in which, in ſix ſeveral Cantons, the ſeveral parts of our Saviours Paſ-

Paſſion are repreſented with a Life and Beauty that cannot be enough admired; it is valued at ten Thouſand Crowns; it is on Wood, but hath that freſhneſs of Colour ſtill on it, that ſeems peculiar to *Holben*'s Pencil. There is alſo a Dance that he painted on the Walls of an Houſe where he uſed to drink, that is ſo worn out that very little is now to be ſeen, except Shapes and Poſtures; but theſe ſhew the exquiſiteneſs of the Hand. There is another longer Dance that runneth all along the ſide of the Convent of the *Auguſtinians*, which is now the French Church, which is Deaths Dance; there are above threeſcore Figures in it at full length of Perſons of all Rancks, from Popes, Emperors, and Kings, down to the meaneſt ſorts of People, and of all Ages and Profeſſions, to whom Death appeareth in an inſolent and ſurprizing Poſture, and the ſeveral Paſſions that they expreſs are ſo well ſet out, that this was certainly a great deſign. But the Freſco being expoſed to the Air, this was ſo worn out ſome time ago, that they ordered the beſt Painter they had to lay new Colours on it, but this is ſo ill done, that one had rather ſee the dead ſhadows of *Holben's* Pencil, than this Courſe work. There is in *Baſil* a Gun-Smith that maketh Wind Guns, and he ſhewed me one that as it received at once Air for ten Shot, ſo it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own invention, that he can diſcharge all the Air that can be parcelled out in ten Shot at once, to give a home

blow. I confeſs thoſe are terrible inſtruments, and it ſeems the Intereſt of Mankind to forbid them quite, ſince they can be imploied to aſſaſſinate perſons ſo dextrouſly, that neither noiſe nor fire will diſcover from what hand the ſhot cometh. The Library of *Bazil* is, by much the beſt in all *Switzerland*, there is a fine Collection of Meddals in it, and a very handſome Library of Manuſcripts; the Room is noble, and diſpoſed in a very good method. Their Manuſcripts are chiefly the Latine Fathers, or Latine Tranſlations of the Greek Fathers, ſome good Bibles, they have the Goſpels in Greek Capitals, but they are vitiouſly writ in many places: there is an infinite number of the Writers of the darker Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons without number. All the Books that were in the ſeveral Monaſteries at the time of the Reformation were carefully preſerved: and they believe that the Biſhops who ſate here in the Councel, brought with them a great many Manuſcripts which they never carried away. Among their Manuſcripts I ſaw four of *Huſs*'s Letters that he writ to the Bohemians the day before his death, which are very devout, but exceſſively ſimple. The Manuſcripts of this Library are far more numerous then thoſe of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarſius*, and left by him to the publick Library there: they are indeed very little conſidered there, and are the worſt kept that ever I ſaw: But it is a Noble collection of all the ancient Latine Authors,

thors, they have ſome few of the beſt of the Roman times, writ in great Characters, and there are many that are ſeven or eight hundred years old. There is in *Baſil* one of the beſt Collections of Medals that ever I ſaw in private hands; together with a Noble Library, in which there are Manuſcripts of good antiquity that belongs to the Family of *Feſeh*, and that goeth from one learned man of the Family to another: for this Inheritance can only paſs to a man of Learning, and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the Publick. In *Baſil* as the ſeveral Companies have been more or leſs ſtrict in admitting ſome to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, ſo they retain their Priviledges to this day. For in ſuch Companies that have once received ſuch a number that have not been of the Trade as grew to be the majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover their intereſt. But ſome Companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but thoſe that were of the Trade, ſo that they retain their intereſt ſtill in Government. Of theſe the Butchers were named for one, ſo that there are alwaies four Butchers in the Councel. The great Council conſiſteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no Power left them, and they are only aſſembled upon ſome extraordinary Occaſions, when the little Councel thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but ſix Baliages that belong to *Baſil*, which

are not imploiments of great advantage; for the beſt of them doth afford to the Bailif only a thouſand livres a year: They reckon that there are in *Bazil* three thouſand men that can bear Arms, and that they could raiſe four thouſand more out of the Canton, ſo that the Town is almoſt the half of this State, and the whole maketh thirty Pariſhes. There are eighteen Profeſſors in this Univerſity; and there is a Spirit of a more free and generous Learning ſtirring there, then I ſaw in all thoſe parts. There is a great decency of habit in *Bazil* and the garb both of the Councellers, Miniſters and Profeſſors, their ſtiff Ruffs, and their long Beards, have an Air that is Auguſt: The appointments are but ſmall, for Councellers, Miniſters and Profeſſors have but a hundred Crowns a peice: It is true many Miniſters are Profeſſors ſo this mendeth the matter a little: but perhaps it would go better with the State of Learning there, if they had but half the number of Profeſſors, and if thoſe were a little better incouraged. No where is the rule of St. *Paul* [of Womens having on their Heads the badge of the authority under which they are brought, which by a Phraſe that is not extraordinary, he calleth power] better obſerved then at *Bazil*; for all the married Women go to Church with a Coif on their heads, that is ſo folded, that as it cometh down ſo far as to cover their eyes, ſo another folding covereth alſo their Mouth and Chin, ſo that no-

nothing but the noſe appears, and then all turns backward in a folding that hangeth down to their midleg. This is alwaies white, ſo that there is there ſuch a ſight of white heads in their Churches as cannot be found any where elſe: The unmarried Women wear hats turned up in their brims before and behind: and the brims of the ſides being about a foot broad, ſtand out far on both hands: This Faſhion is alſo at *Straſburg*, and is worn there alſo by the married Women.

I mentioned formerly the conſtant danger to which this place is expoſed from the neighborhood of *Huningh*, I was told that at firſt it was pretended that the French King intended to build only a ſmall Fort there, and it was believed that one of the Burgomaſters of *Bazil*, who was thought not only the wiſeſt man of that Canton, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all men aſleep, and to aſſure them that the ſuffering this Fort to be built ſo near them, was of no importance to them, but now they ſee too late their fatal Error: For the place is great, and will hold a Garriſon of three or four thouſand Men; it is a Pentagone, only the ſide to the *Rhine* is ſo large, that if it went round on that ſide, I believe it muſt have been a Hexagone; the *Baſtions* have all Orillons, and in the middle of them there is a void ſpace, not filled up with Earth, where there is a Magazine built ſo thick in the Vault that it is proof againſt *Bombs*; The Ramparts

are ſtrongly faced, there is a large Ditch, and before the Cortine, in the middle of the Ditch, there runs all along a Horn-work which is but ten or twelve Foot high; and from the bottom of the Rampart, there goeth a Vault to this Horn-work, that is for conveying of men for its defence: before this Horn-work there is a half Moon, with this that is peculiar to thoſe new Fortifications, that there is a Ditch that cuts the Half-Moon in an Angle, and maketh one half Moon within another: Beyond that there is a Counterſcarp about twelve Foot high above the Water, with a covered way, and a glacy deſigned, tho' not executed. There is alſo a great Horn-work beſides all this, which runs out a huge way with its out-works towards *Baſil*; there is alſo a Bridge laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an Iſland in the River, where the Bridge is laid, there is a Horn-work that filleth and fortifieth it. The Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the Square can hold above four thouſand Men; the works are not yet quite finiſhed, but when all is compleated, this will be one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Europe*: There is a Cavalier on one or two of the Baſtions, and there are half Moons before the Baſtions, ſo that the Switzers ſee their danger now, when it is not eaſie to redreſs it. This Place is ſcituated in a great Plain, ſo that it is commanded by no riſing ground on any ſide of it. I made a little Turn into *Alſace*, as far as *Mountpelliard*; the Soil is extream rich, but it hath been

been ſo long a Frontier Country; and is, by Conſequence, ſo ill Peopled, that it is in many places over-grown with Woods: In one reſpect it is fit to be the ſeat of War, for it is full of Iron-works, which bring a great deal of Money into the Country. I ſaw nothing peculiar in the Iron-works there (except that the ſides of the great Bellows were not of Leather, but of Wood, which ſaves much Money) ſo I will not ſtand to deſcribe them. The River of the *Rhine*, all from *Baſil* to *Spire*, is ſo low, and is on both ſides ſo covered with Woods, that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no ſight of the Country: The River runneth ſometimes with ſuch a force, that nothing but ſuch woods could preſerve its Banks, and even theſe are not able to ſave them quite, for the Trees are often waſhed away by the very Roots, ſo that in many places thoſe Trees lye along in the Channel of the River: It hath been alſo thought a ſort of a Fortification to both ſides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which maketh the paſſing of Men dangerous, when they muſt march for ſome time after their Paſſage through a *defilé*. The firſt Night from *Bazil* we came to *Briſac*, which is a poor and miſerable Town, but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the Weſt-ſide of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Baſtions. The Town of *Briſac* riſeth all on a Hill, which is a conſiderable heighth; there were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification. and the o-

ther is ſo well levelled with the ground, that one cannot ſo much as find out where it was; All the ground about for many miles is plain, ſo that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier, one can ſee exactly well, eſpecially with the help of a Proſpect, all the motions of an Enemy in caſe of a Siege: The Fortification is of a huge compaſs, above a French league, indeed almoſt a German league; the baſtions are quite filled with Earth, they are faced with brick, and have a huge broad Ditch full of Water around them, the Counterſcarp, the covered Way, which hath a Paliſade within the Parapet, and the Glacy, are all well executed; there is a half Moon before every Cortine: the baſtions have no Orillons except one or two, and the Cortines are ſo diſpoſed that a good part of them defendeth the baſtion. The Garriſon of this place in time of War muſt needs be eight or ten thouſand men; there hath not been much done of late to this place only the Ditch is ſo adjuſted that it is all defended by the flanks of the baſtions. But the nobleſt place on the *Rhine* is *Strasburg*: it is a Town of a huge extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it: the inner Wall is old and of no ſtrength, nor is the outward Wall very good, it hath a fauſſebraye, and is faced with brick twelve or fifteen foot above the Ditch: the Counterſcarp is in an ill condition, ſo that the Town was not in caſe to make any long reſiſtance; but it is now ſtrongly fortified. There is a Cittadel built on that ſide that goeth towards

wards the Rhine, that is much ſuch a Fort as that of *Huningh*, and on the ſide of the Cittadel towards the Bridge, there is a great Horn-work that runs out a great way with out-works belonging to it; there are alſo ſmall Forts at the two chief Gates that lead to *Alſace*, by which the City is ſo bridled, that theſe can cut off all its Communication with the Country about, in caſe of a Revolt: the Bridge is alſo well fortified: there are alſo Forts in ſome Iſlands in the *Rhine*, and ſome Redoubts: ſo that all round this Place there is one of the greateſt Fortifications that is in *Europe*.

Hitherto the Capitulation with relation to Religion hath been well kept, and there is ſo ſmall a number of new Converts, and theſe are for the greateſt Part ſo Inconſiderable, they not being in all above two Hundred as I was told, that if they do not imploy the new faſhioned Miſſionaries *a la Dragonné*, the old ones are not like to have ſo great Harveſt there as they promiſed themſelves, though they are Jeſuits. The *Lutherans* for the greateſt part retain their Animoſities almoſt to an equal degree both againſt *Papiſts* and *Calviniſts*. I was in their Church, where if the Muſick of their Pſalms pleaſed me much, the Irreverence in Singing, it being free to keep on, or put off the Hat, did appear very ſtrange to me: The Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief Paſſages of our Saviours Life are repreſented: but there is no ſort of Religious reſpect payed them, they bow when they name the Holy Ghoſt, as well as at the Name of Je-

ſus: but they have not the Ceremonies that the Lutherans of *Saxony* uſe, which Mr. *Bebel*, their Profeſſor of Divinity, ſaid was a great Happineſs, for a Similitude in outward Rite might diſpoſe the ignorant people to change too eaſily. I found ſeveral good People both of the Lutheran Miniſters and others, acknowledg that there was ſuch a Corruption of Morals ſpread over the whole City, that as they had juſtly drawn down on their Heads the plague of the loſs of their Liberty, ſo this having toucht them ſo little they had reaſon to look for ſeverer ſtrokes: One ſeeth, in the ruine of this City, what a miſchievous thing the popular pride of a free City is: they fancied they were able to defend themſelves, and ſo they refuſed to let an Imperial Garriſon come within their Town: for if they had received only five hundred Men, as that ſmall number would not have been able to have oppreſt their Liberties, ſo it would have ſo ſecured the Town that the French could not have beſieged it, without making War on the Empire: but the Town thought this was a diminution of their Freedom, and ſo choſe rather to pay a Garriſon of three thouſand Soldiers, which as it exhauſted their Revenue, and brought them under great Taxes, ſo it proved too weak for their defence when the French Army came before them. The Town begins to ſink in its Trade, notwithſtanding the great Circulation of Money that the Expence of the Fortifications hath brought to it: but when that is at an End, it will ſink more ſenſibly, for it

it is impoſſible for a place of Trade, that is to have always eight or ten Thouſand Souldiers in it, to continue long in a Flouriſhing State. There was a great animoſity between two of the chief Families of the Town, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*, the former was the Burgo maſter, and was once almoſt run down by a Faction that the other had raiſed againſt him: but he turned the Tide, and got ſuch an advantage againſt *Obrecht*, who had writ ſomewhat againſt the Conduct of their Affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing Libels againſt the Government. His Son is a Learned Man, and was Profeſſor of the Civil Law: and he to have his turn of revenge againk *Dietrick*, went to *Paris* laſt Summer, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. *Dietrick* had been always looked on as one of the chief of the French Faction, tho he had been at firſt an Imperialiſt, ſo it was thought that he ſhould have been well rewarded; yet it was expected that to make himſelf capable of that, he ſhould have changed his Religion, but he was an ancient Man, and would not purchaſe his Court at that rate: ſo without any Reaſon given, and againſt the expreſs Words of the Capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland Provinces of *France*, as I remember it was *Limoſin*; and thus he that hath been thought the chief cauſe of this Towns falling under the Power of the French, is the firſt Man that hath felt the Effects of it. The Liberary here is conſiderable, The Caſe is a great

great Room very well contrived, for it is divided into Cloſets all over the body of the Room, which runs about theſe as a Gallery, and in theſe Cloſets all round, there are the Books of the ſeveral Profeſſions lodged apart: There is one for Manuſcripts in which there are ſome of conſiderable Antiquity. I need ſay nothing to you of the vaſt heighth, and the Gothick Architecture of the Steeple, and of the great Church, nor of the curious Clock, where there is ſo vaſt a variety of Motions, for theſe are well known. The Bas reliefs upon the tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not ſo viſible, but they are ſurprizing, for this being a Fabrick of three or four Hundred Years old, it is very ſtrange to ſee ſuch Repreſentations as are there. There is a Proceſſion repreſented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the Holy Water, and Aſſes and Hogs in Prieſtly Veſtments follow to make up the Proceſſion; there is alſo an Aſs ſtanding before an Altar, as if he were going to Conſecrate, and one carrieth a Caſe with Reliques, within which one ſeeth a Fox, and the trains of all that go in this Proceſſion, are carried up by Monkies. This ſeems to have been made in hatred of the Monks whom the Secular Clergy abhorred at that time, becauſe they had drawn the Wealth, and the following of the World after them, and they had expoſed the Secular Clergy ſo much for their ignorance, that it is probable, after ſome Ages, the Monks falling under the ſame contempt, the

the Secular Clergy took their turn in expoſing them in ſo laſting a Repreſentation to the ſcorn of the World. There is alſo in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood, lying along, and a Friar lying near her with his Breviary open before him, and his Hand under the Nuns habit, and the Nuns feet are ſhod with Iron Shoos. I confeſs I did not look for theſe things, for I had not heard of them, but my Noble Friend, Mr. *Ablancourt* viewed them with great exactneſs, while he was the *French* Kings Reſident at *Strasburg*, in the Company of one of the Magiſtrates that waited on him; and it is upon his Credit, to which all that know his eminent Sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this Particular.

From *Strasburg* we went down to the *Rhine* to *Phillipsburg*, which lieth at a quarter of a Miles diſtance from the River, it is but a ſmall Place, the Baſtions are but little: There is a Ravelline before almoſt all the Cortines, and there lye ſuch Marſhes all round it, that in theſe lieth the chief ſtrength of the Place, The *French* had begun a great Crown-work on the ſide that lieth to the *Rhine*, and had caſt out a Horn-work beyond that; but by all that appears, it ſeems they intended to continue that Crown-work quite round the Town, and to make a ſecond Wall and Ditch all round it; which would have enlarged the Place vaſtly, and made a Compaſs capable enough to lodge above ten Thouſand Men: and this would have been

been ſo terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate* and all *Franconia* that it was a Maſter-piece in *Charles Lewis*, the late Elector Palatine, to engage the Empire into this Siege. He ſaw well how much it concerned him to have it out of the Hands of the *French*, ſo that he took great Care to have the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Camp ſo well ſupplied with all things neceſſary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the leaſt uneaſineſs all the while. From thence in three hours time we came to *Spire*, which is ſo naked a Town that if it were attacked, it could not make the leaſt reſiſtance. The Town is neither great nor Rich, and ſubſiſteth chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that ſitteth here, tho' there is a conſtant diſpute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Priviledges; for the Government of the Town, pretends that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private Men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are ſubject to them; and ſo about a Year ago they put one of the Judges in Priſon: On the other Hand the Judges pretended that their Perſons are Sacred. It was the Conſideration of the Chamber that procured to the Town the Neutrality that they enjoyed all the laſt War. I thought to have ſeen the forms of this Court, and the way of laying up, and preſerving their Records, but the Court was not then ſitting. The Building, the Halls, and Chambers of this famous Court are mean beyond Imagination, and look liker the Halls of ſome ſmall Com-

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pany, than of ſo great a Body; and I could not ſee the places where they lay up their Archives: The Government of the City is all *Lutheran*, but not only the Cathedral is in the Hands of the Biſhop and Chapter, but there are likewiſe ſeveral Convents of both Sexes, and the Jeſuites have alſo a Colledge there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge Building in the Gothick manner of the worſt ſort. The Tombs of many Emperors that lye Buried there, are remarkable for their meaneſs; they being only great Flag ſtones layed on ſome ſmall Stone Balliſters of a Foot and a half high, there are alſo the Marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning St. *Bernard*, which is too fooliſh to be related, yet ſince they have taken ſuch Pains to preſerve the remembrance of it, I ſhall venture to writ it. There are from the Gate all along the Nef of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Quire, four round Plates of Braſs, above a foot Diameter, and at the Diſtance of thirty Foot one from another; laid in the Pavement, on the firſt of theſe is Engraven: *O Clemens*; on the ſecond, *O Pia*, on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth, *Maria*: The laſt is about thirty Foot diſtant from a Statue of the Virgins: ſo they ſay that St. *Bernard* came up the whole length of the Church at four Steps, and that thoſe four Plates were laid where he ſtept; and that at every Step he pronounced the Word that is Engraven on the Plate, and when he

he came to the laſt, the Image of the Virgin anſwered him. *Salve Bernarde*: upon which he anſwered, *let a Woman keep ſilence in the Church*, and that the Virgins Statue has kept ſilence ever ſince, this laſt part of the Story is certainly very credible. He was a man of Learning that ſhewed me this; and he repeated it ſo gravely to me, that I ſaw he either believed it, or at leaſt that he had a mind to make me believe it: and I asked him as gravely if that was firmly believed there, he told me that one had lately writ a Book to prove the truth of it, as I remember, it was a Jeſuit: he acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith, ſo I was ſatisfied. There is in the Cloiſter an old Gothick repreſentation of our Saviours Agony in ſtone, with a great many Figures of his Apoſtles, and the Company that came to ſeize him, that is not ill Sculpture, for the Age in which it was made, it being ſome Ages old. The Calviniſts have a Church in this Town, but their numbers are not conſiderable: I was told there were ſome ancient Manuſcripts in the Library, that belongeth to the Cathedral: but one of the Prebendaries to whom I addreſſed my ſelf, being according to the *German* cuſtom, a man of greater quality then learning, told me he heard they had ſome ancient Manuſcripts, but he knew nothing of it, and the Dean was abſent, ſo I could not ſee them, for he kept one of the keys. The lower Palatinate is certainly one of the ſweeteſt Countries of all

all *Germany*: It is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of *Heidelberg*: the Town is ill ſcituated, juſt in a bottom between two ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended: I need ſay nothing of the Caſtle, nor the prodigious Wine Cellar, in which, tho there is but one celebrated Tun that is ſeventeen foot high, and twenty ſix foot long, and is built with a ſtrength liker that of the Ribs of a Ship, then the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of ſuch a prodigious bigneſs, that they would ſeem very extraordinary if this vaſt one did not Eclipſe them. The late Prince *Charles Lewis* ſhewed his capacity in the peopling and ſetling this State, that had been ſo intirely ruined, being for many years the Seat of War, for in four years time he brought it to a Flouriſhing condition: He raiſed the Taxes as high as was poſſible without diſpeopling his Country, all mens Eſtates were valued, and they were taxed at five *per cent.* of the value of their Eſtates; but their Eſtates were not valued to the rigour, but with ſuch abatements as have been ordinary in *England* in the times of Subſidies; ſo that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to two *per cent* of the real value; the Subjects all deſired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in Germany that is more abſolute then the Elector Palatine, for he laieth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaſeth, without being limited to any forms of Government. And

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here I ſaw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of *Germany* are only bound to their particular Prince, for they ſwear Allegiance ſimply to the Elector without any reſerve for the Emperor, and in their Prayers for him they name him their Soveraign. It is true, the Prince is under ſome ties to the Emperor, but the Subjects are under none. And by this D. *Fabritius*, a learned and judicious Profeſſor there, explained thoſe words of *Pareus*'s Commentary on the *Romans*, which had reſpect only to the Princes of the Empire: and were quite miſ-underſtood by thoſe who fancied that they favoured Rebellion; for there is no place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than there. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with relation to thoſe ſmall Controverſies that have occaſioned ſuch Heat in the Proteſtant Churches, reigning in the Univerſity there, which is in a great Meaſure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy Temper of Mind of D. *Fabritius*, and D. *Mick*; who as they were long in *England*, ſo they have that generous largeneſs of Soul, which is the noble Ornament of many of the Engliſh Divines. Prince *Charles Lewis* ſaw that *Manheim* was marked out by Nature to be the moſt important Place of all his Territory, it being Scituated in the Point where *Neckar* falleth into the *Rhine*; ſo that that thoſe two Rivers defending it on two ſides: it was capable of a good Fortification: It is true, the Air is not thought wholſome; and

and the Water is not good, yet he made a fine Town there, and a Noble Cittadel with a regular Fortification about it, and he designed a great Palace there, but he did not live to Build it. He saw of what advantage Liberty of Conscience was to the Peopling of his Country, so as he suffered the *Jews* to come and settle there, he resolved also not only to suffer the three Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire to be professed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called the Church of the Concord, in which both *Calvinists*, *Lutherans*, and *Papists* had, in the order in which I have set them down, the Exercise of their Religion, and he maintained the Peace of his Principality so entirely, that there was not the least disorder occasioned by this Tolleration: This indeed made him to be lookt on as a Prince that did not much consider Religion himself: He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief Minister, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were unjust if I should not say somewhat to you of the Princely Vertues and the Celebrated Probity of the present Pr. Elector upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the Extinction of so many Princes that in this Age composed the most numerous Family of any of that Rank in *Europe*. This Prince as he is in many Respects an Honour to the Religion that he Professes, so is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promises

miſes he made his Subjects, with relation to their Religion, in which he has not even in the ſmalleſt Matters, broke in upon their eſtabliſhed Laws, and tho' an order of Men, that have turned the World upſide down, have great Credit with him, yet it is hitherto viſible, that they cannot carry it ſo far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed Religion; and ſo thoſe ſacred Promiſes that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the World that he does not conſider thoſe as ſo many Words ſpoken at firſt to lay his People aſleep; which he may now explain and obſerve as he thinks fit; but as ſo many ties upon his Conſcience and Honour, which he will religiouſly obſerve. And as in the other Parts of his Life he has ſet a noble Pattern to all the Princes of *Europe*, ſo his Exactneſs to his Promiſes, is that which cannot be too much commended: of which this extraordinary Inſtance has been Communicated to me ſince I am come into this Country. The Elector had a Proceſſion in his Court laſt *Corpus Chriſti* Day, upon which one of the Miniſters of *Heidelberg* preached a very ſevere Sermon againſt Popery, and in particular, taxed that Proceſſion perhaps with greater plainneſs than diſcretion: This being brought to the Electors Ears, he ſent preſently an Order to the Eccleſiaſtical Senate to ſuſpend him. That Court is compoſed of ſome Secular Men, and ſome Churchmen and as the Princes Authority is dilegated to them, ſo they have a ſort of an Epiſcopal Juriſdiction

diction over all the Clergy. This order was a ſurprize to them, as being a direct breach upon their Laws, and the liberty of their Religion: ſo they ſent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the Reaſons that hindred them from obeying his Orders, which were heard with ſo much Juſtice and Gentleneſs that their Prince, inſtead of expreſſing any diſpleaſure againſt them, recalled the order that he had ſent them. The way from *Heidelberg* to *Frankfort*, is, for the firſt twelve or fifteen Miles, the beautifulleſt piece of Ground that can be imagined; for we went under a ridge of little Hills, that are all covered with Vines, and from them, as far as the Eye can go, there is a Beautiful Plain of Corn-fields and Meadows, all ſweetly divided and encloſed with rows of Trees, ſo that I fancied I was in *Lombardy* again, but with this advantage, that here all was not of a piece, as it is in *Lombardy*: but the Hills as they made a pleaſant inequality in the Proſpect, ſo they made the Air purer, and produced a pleaſant Wine: The way near *Darmſtat* and all forwards to *Franckfort*, becometh more wild and more Sandy: There is a good Suburb on the South-ſide of the Main, over againſt *Frankfort*, which hath a very conſiderable Fortification; there is a double Wall, and double Ditch that goeth round it, and the outward Wall, as it is regularly fortified, ſo it is faced with Brick to a conſiderable heighth. The Town of *Frankfort* is of a great Extent, and ſeemed to be but about a third Part leſs than *Strasburg*:

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The three Religions are alſo tolerated there; and tho' the number of the Papiſts is very inconſiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude Building; they have alſo ſeveral other Churches, and ſome Convents there. There are ſeveral open Squares for Market-places, and the Houſes about them look very well without. Among their Archives they preſerve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great Parchment writ in High *Dutch*, without any Beauty anſwering to its Title: and ſince I could not have underſtood it, I was not at the Pains of deſiring to ſee it, for that is not obtained without Difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new Church, called St. *Katherins*, in which there is as much painting as ever I ſaw in any Popiſh Church, and over the high Altar there is an huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other places of their Church: The Pulpit is extream fine of Marble of different Colours very well poliſhed and joined: I was here at Sermon, where I underſtood nothing, but I liked one thing that I ſaw both at *Strasburg*, and here, that at the end of Prayers, there was a conſiderable Interval of Silence left, before the Concluſion, for all Peoples private Devotions. In the Houſe of their publick Diſcipline, they retain ſtill the old Roman Piſtrina or Hand-mill, at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Milſtones go. There is a great number of *Jews* there, tho

tho their two Synagogues are very little, and by conſequence the numbers being great, they are very naſty. I was told they were in all above twelve Hundred. The Women had the moſt of a tawdry Imbroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I ſaw, for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the top and the bottom, there was a Border above a Hand breadth of Imbroidery. The Fortification of *Frankfort* is conſiderable, their Ditch is very Broad, and very full of Water; all the Baſtions have a Countermine that runneth along by the brim of the Ditch; but the Counterſcarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and ſo in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered way and glacy are alſo in an ill caſe: The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleaſantly ſcituated. Not far from hence is *Hockam* that yieldeth the beſt Wine of thoſe parts. Since I took *Frankfort* in my way from *Heidelberg* to *Mentz*, I could not paſs by *Worms*, for which I was ſorry. I had a great mind to ſee that place where *Luther* made his firſt appearance before the Emperor, and the Diet, and in that ſolemn audience expreſſed an undaunted Zeal for that glorious cauſe in which God made him ſuch a bleſſed Inſtrument. I had another piece of curioſity on me which will perhaps appear to you ſomewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to ſee a Picture that as *I* was told is over one of the Popiſh Altars there, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of

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Tranſubſtantiation to make it appear ridiculous, there is a Windmill, and the Virgin throws Chriſt into the Hopper, and he comes out at the Eye of the Mill all in Wafers, which ſome Prieſts take up to give the People. This is ſo courſe an Emblem, that one would think it too groſs even for *Laplanders*, but a Man that can ſwallow Tranſubſtantiation it ſelf, will digeſt this likewiſe. *Ments* is very nobly Scituated on a riſing Ground, a little below the Conjunction of the two Rivers, the *Rhine* and the *Main*; It is of too great a Compaſs, and too ill Peopled to be capable of a great Defence: There is a Cittadel upon the higheſt part of the Hill that commandeth the Town; it is Compaſſed about with a dry Ditch, that is conſiderably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick, and regularly Fortified, but the Counterſcarp is not faced with Brick, ſo all is in a ſad Condition; and the Fortification is weakeſt on that ſide where the Electors Palace is. There is one ſide of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Architecture, only the *Germans* do ſtill retain ſomewhat of the Gothick manner. It is of a great Length, and the deſign is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very Magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Baſil* down to *Coblentz*, are of red Stone, which doth not look beautiful. The Elector of *Mentz* is an abſolute Prince: His Subjects preſent Liſts of their Magiſtrates to him, but he is not tied to them

them, and may name whom he will: The Ancient Demeaſne of the Electorat is about forty Thouſand Crowns: But the Taxes riſe to about three hundred Thouſand Crowns: ſo that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinate*, There is twelve Thouſand Crowns a year given the Elector for his Privy Purſe, and the State bears the reſt of his whole expence: It can Arm ten Thouſand Men, and there is a Garriſon of two Thouſand Men in *Mentz*: This Elector hath three Councels, one as he is Chancellour of the Empire, conſiſting of three Perſons: The other two are for the Policy and Juſtice of his Principality. He and his Chapter have Months by turns for the Nomination of the Prebends. In the month of *January* he names if any dies, and they chooſe in the Room of ſuch as die in *February*, and ſo all the year round. The Prebendaries or Domeheers have about three thouſand Crowns a year apiece. When the Elector dieth, the Emperour ſendeth one to ſee the Election made, and he recommendeth one, but the Cannons may chuſe whom they pleaſe; and the preſent Elector was not of the Emperours recommendation. Beſides the Palace at *Mentz*, the Elector hath another near *Frankfort*, which is thought the beſt that is in thoſe parts of *Germany*; The Cathedral is a huge Gothick Building; there is a great *Cupulo* in the Weſt-end, and there the Quire ſingeth Maſs: I could not learn whether this was done only becauſe the place here was of

greater reception than at the East-end, or if any burying place and indowment obliged them to the West-end. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chappel of great *Antiquity*, and on the *North* Door there are two great Brass gates with a long Inscription, which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperour *Lotharius*'s time. There are a vast Number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and ill Inhabited. The *Rhine* here is almost half an English mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laid over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Buccharach* (which seems to carry its Name (*Bacchi Ara*) from some Famous Altar that the Romans probably erected by reason of the good Wine that grows in the neighbourhood.) There is a great Number of very considerable Villages on both sides of the River: Here the Rats Tower is shewed, and the people of the Country do all firmly believe the story of the Rats eating up an Elector, and that tho he Fled to this *Island* where he Built a small high Tower, they pursued him still, and eat him up: and they told us that there was some of his Bones to be seen still in the Tower. This extraordinary Death make me call to mind a very particular and unlooked for sort of Death, that carried off a poor Labourer of the ground a few days before I left *Geneva*. The foot of one of his Cattel, as he was Ploughing, went into a nest of Wasps, upon which the whole swarm came out, and set upon him that held the Plough, and killed him in a very little time; and his body was prodigiously swelled with the Poison of so many stings. But to return to the *Rhine*, all the way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both sides of the River hanging grounds, or little Hills, so laid as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich Rhenish Wine: They are indeed as well exposed to to the Sun, and covered from Storms, as can be Imagined: and the ground on those Hills, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement, and this bringeth so much wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great Number of considerable Villages. *Coblentz* is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the Empire; the scituation is Noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Mosell* passing along the side of the Town; it is well fortified, the Ditch is large, the Counterscrap

Counterſcarp is high, and the covered way is in a good condition, both Walls and Counterſcarp are faced with Brick, and there are Ravelines before the Cortines; but on the ſide of the *Moſelle* it is very ſlightly fortified, and there is no Fort at the end of the ſtone Bridge that is laid over the *Moſelle*, ſo that it lieth quite open on that ſide, which ſeemeth a ſtrange defect in a place of that Conſequence: But tho the Fortifications of this place are very conſiderable, yet its chief defence lieth in the Fort of *Hermanſtan*, which is built on the top of a very high Hill, that lieth on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, and which commandeth this place ſo abſolutely, that he who is Maſter of *Hermanſtan*, is always Maſter of *Coblentz*. This belongeth to the Elector of *Triers*, whoſe Palace lieth on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Rhine*, juſt at the foot of the Hill of *Hermanſtan*, and over againſt the point where the *Moſelle* falleth into the *Rhine*, ſo that nothing can be more pleaſantly ſcituated; only the ground begins to riſe juſt at the back of the Houſe with ſo much ſteepneſs that there is not Room for Gardens or walks. The Houſe maketh a great ſhew upon the River, but we were told that the Apartments within were not anſwerable to the outſide. I ſay we were told, for the German Princes keep ſuch forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unleſs it be when they are abroad themſelves; ſo that we neither got within the Palace at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanſtan*. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the Elector of *Collen* keepeth his Court; the place hath a regular Fortification, the Walls are faced with Brick; but tho the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterſcarp is in ſo ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This Elector is the Nobleſt born, and the beſt provided of all the German Clergy, for he is Brother to the great *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*; and beſides *Collen*, he hath *Liege*, *Munſter*, and *Hildelſheim*, which are all great *Biſhopricks*: He hath been alſo ſix and thirty years in the Electorate: His Palace is very mean, conſiſting but of one Court, the half of which is caſt into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court; the lower part of the Court was a ſtable: but he hath made an appartment here that is all furniſhed with Pictures: where, as there are ſome of the hands of the greateſt Maſters, ſo there are

a great many foils to ſet theſe off; that are ſcarce good enough for Sign-poſts.

The Elector has a great many gold Medalls which will give me occaſion to tell you one of the Extravaganteſt pieces of forgery that perhaps ever was; which happened to be found out at the laſt ſiege of *Bonne*: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a Battery, they diſcovered a vault in which there was an Iron Cheſt that was full of Medalls of Gold to the value of 100000 Crowns: and of which I was told the Elector bought to the value of 30000 Crowns. They are huge big, one weighed 800 Ducats, and the Gold was of fineneſs of Ducat gold: but tho they bore the Impreſſions of Roman Medalls or rather Medaillons they were all Counterfeit; and the Imitation was ſo courſely done that one muſt be extream ignorant in Medalls to be deceived by them. Some few that ſeemed true were of the late *Greek* Emperours. Now it is very unaccountable what could induce a Man to make a forgery upon ſuch Mettal, and in ſo vaſt a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, eſpecially in an Age in which ſo much Gold was ten times the value of what is at preſent, for it is judged to have been done about four, or five hundred years ago.

The Prince went out a hunting while we were there with a very handſome Guard of about fourſcore Horſe, well mounted; ſo we ſaw the Palace, but were not ſuffered to ſee the Apartment where he lodged: There is a great ſilver Caſolette guilt, all ſet with Emeralds and Rubies, that tho they made a fine appearance, yet were a Compoſition of the Princes own making: His Officers alſo ſhewed us a Baſon and Ewer, which they ſaid were of Mercury fixed by the Prince himſelf; but they added that now for many years he wrought no more in his Laboratory. I did not eaſily believe this, and as the weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quick-Silver, ſo the Medicinal Vertues of fixed Mercury, if there is any ſuch thing, are ſo extraordinary, that it ſeemed very ſtrange to ſee twenty or thirty Pound of it made up in two pieces of Plate. A quarter of a mile without the Town, the beſt Garden of thoſe parts of *Germany*, is to be ſeen, in which there is a great variety of Water-works, and very many Noble Allies in the French manner, and the whole it of a very

very conſiderable extent; but as it hath no ſtatues of any value to adorn it, ſo the Houſe about which it lieth in is in ruins: and it is ſtrange to ſee that ſo rich and ſo great a Prince, during ſo long a Regence, hath done ſo little to inlarge or beautifie his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Coblentz* are both poor and ſmall Towns. *Collen* is three Hours diſtant from *Ponne*, it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built and worſe peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the Walls are all in an ill caſe, ſo it is not poſſible to fortifie ſo vaſt a compaſs as this Town maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State. The Jews live in a little Suburb on the other ſide of the River, and may not come over without leave obtained, for which they pay conſiderably. There is no exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion ſuffered within the Town; but thoſe of the Religion are ſuffered to live there; and they have a Church at two Miles diſtance. The Arſenal here, is ſuitable to the Fortifications, very mean, and ill furniſhed. The Quire of the great Church is as high in the roof, as any Church I ever ſaw: but it ſeemeth the Wealth of this place could not finiſh the whole Fabrick, ſo as to anſwer the height of the Quire, for the Body of the Church is very low: Thoſe that are diſpoſed to believe Legends, have enough here to overſet even a good degree of credulity, both in the ſtory of the three Kings, whoſe Chappel is viſited with great devotion, and ſtandeth at the Eaſt end of the great Quire; and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thouſand Urſulins, whoſe Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of vaſt number of *Bones* that are piled up in rows about the Walls of the Church: Theſe Fables are ſo firmly believed by the Papiſts there, that the leaſt ſign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, paſſeth for an infallible mark of an Heretick. The Jeſuites have a great and noble Colledge and Church here. And for *Thauler's* ſake I went to the *Dominicans* Houſe and Church, which is alſo very great. One grows extreamly weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The preſent ſubject of their diſcourſe is alſo very melancholy: The late Rebellion that was there, is ſo generally known, that I need not ſay much concerning it. A report was ſet about the Town, by ſome Incendiaries, that the Magiſtrates

Magiſtrates did eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruine the City; I could not learn what ground there was for theſe reports, for it is not ordinary to ſee reports of that kind fly, through a body of men, without ſome foundation: It is a certain this came to be ſo generally believed, that there was a horrible diſorder occaſioned by it: The Magiſtrates were glad to ſave themſelves from the ſtorm, and abandoned the Town to the popular fury, ſome of them having been made ſacrifices to it; and this rage held long: But within this laſt year, after near two years diſorder, thoſe that were ſent by the Emperor and *Diet* to Judge the matter, having threatned to put the Town under the Imperial *Bann*, if it had ſtood longer out, were received; and have put the Magiſtrates again in the poſſeſſion of their Authority, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapt in Priſon: many have already ſuffered, and a great many more are ſtill in Priſon: they told us that ſome executions were to be made within a week when we were there. *Duſſeldorp* is the firſt conſiderable Town below *Collen*, it is the Seat of the Duke of *Juliers*, who is Duke of *Newburg*, eldeſt Son to the preſent Elector *Palatine*. The Palace is old and Gothick enough: but the Jeſuits have there a fine Colledge, and a noble Chappel, tho there are manifeſt faults in the Architecture: the Proteſtant Religion is tolerated and they have a Church lately built here within theſe few years, that was procured by the Interceſſion of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who obſerving exactly the liberty of Religion that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had reaſon to ſee the ſame as duly obſerved in his Neighbourhood, in favor of his own Religion. The Fortification here is very ordinary, the Ramparts being faced but a few foot high with Brick. But *Keiſerswart* ſome hours lower on the ſame ſide which belongeth to the Elector of *Collen*, tho it is a much worſe Town then *Duſſeldrop*, yet is much better fortified: it hath a very broad Ditch, and a very regular Fortification: the Walls are conſiderably high faced with Brick, and ſo is the Counterſcarp, which is alſo in a very good condition. The Fortification of *Orſoy* is now quite demoliſhed. *Rhineberg* continueth as it was, but the Fortification is a very mean, only of Earth, ſo that it is not capable of making a great reſiſtance. And *Weſel*, tho it is a very fine Town, yet is a poor

poor Fortification, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vaſt expence: for the ground all about it being ſandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unleſs the foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon *Piloty*. In all theſe Towns one ſees an other air of Wealth and abundance then in much Richer Countries that are exhauſted with taxes. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a populous Country, that hath at preſent very little defence, except what it hath from its ſcituation. *Cleve* is a delicious place, the ſcituation and proſpect are charming, and the Air is a very pure, and from thence we came hither in three hours.

I will not ſay one word of the Countrey into which I am now come, for as I know that is needleſs to you on many accounts, ſo a Picture that I ſee here in the Stadthouſe, puts me in mind of the perfecteſt Book of its kind that is perhaps in being, for Sir William *Temple*, whoſe Picture hangeth here at the upper end of the Plenipotentiaries, that negotiated the famous Treaty of *Nimmegen*, hath indeed been a pattern to the World, which is done with ſuch life, that it may juſtly make others bluſh to copy after it, ſince it muſt be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other places, as he hath given us of one of the leaſt, but yet one of the Nobleſt parcels of the Univerſe, Travelling would become a needleſs thing, unleſs it were for diverſion: ſince one findeth no further occaſion for his curioſity in this Country, than what is fully ſatisfied by his rare performance. Yet I cannot give over writing, without reflecting on the reſiſtance that this place made, when ſo many other places were ſo baſely delivered up, tho one doth not ſee in the ruines of the Fortification here, how it could make ſo long a reſiſtance: yet it was that that ſtem'd tide of a progreſs that made all the World ſtand amazed; and it gave a little time to the Dutch to recover themſelves out of the conſternation, into which ſo many blows, that came ſo thick one after another, had ſtruck them.

But then the World ſaw a change, that tho it had not had ſo much Influence given to it, as the happy conjuncture of another Prince hath drawn after it, with ſo much exceſs, that all the topicks of flattery ſeem exhauſted by it, yet will

will appear to poſterity one of the moſt ſurprizing Scenes in Hiſtory, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the Roman State after the Battel of *Canne*. When a young Prince, that had never before born Arms, or ſo much as ſeen a Campagne, who had little or no Councel about him but that which was ſuggeſted from his own thoughts, and that had no extraordinary advantage, by his Education either for Literature or Affairs, was of a ſudden ſet at the head of a State and Army, that was ſunk with ſo many loſſes; and that ſaw the beſt half of its Soil torn from it; and the powerfulleſt Enemy in the World, ſurrounded with a Victorious army that was commanded by the beſt Generals that the Age hath produced, come within ſight, and ſettle his Court in one of the beſt Towns, and had at the ſame time the greateſt force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its deſtruction. When the Inhabitants were forced, that they might ſave themſelves from ſo formidable an Enemy, to let looſe that which on all other occaſions, is the moſt dreadfull to them; and to drown ſo great a part of their Soil for the preſervation of the reſt: and to complicate together all the miſeries that a Nation can dread, when to the general conſternation with which ſo diſmal a Scene poſſeſſed them, a diſtraction within doors ſeemed to threaten them with the laſt ſtrokes; and while their Army was ſo ill diſciplined, that they durſt ſcarce promiſe themſelves any thing from ſuch feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almoſt thirty years continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the moſt concerned in their preſervation, was, like a great Paralitick Body, liker to fall on thoſe that it pretended to ſupport, and to cruſh them, than to give them any conſiderable aſſiſtance: When I ſay a Young Prince came at the head of all this, the very proſpect of which would have quite dampt an ordinary courage, he very quickly changed the Scene, he animated the Publick Councils with a generous vigour: he found them ſinking into a feebleneſs of hearkning to Propoſitions for a Peace, that were as little ſafe as they were honourable, but he diſpoſed them to reſolve on hazarding all, rather than to ſubmit to ſuch Infamous Terms.

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His credit alſo among the populace ſeemed to Inſpire them with a new life: they eaſily perſwaded themſelves that as one *WILLIAM* Prince of *ORANGE* had formed their State, ſo here another of the ſame name ſeemed marked out to recover and preſerve it. It was this Spirit of Courage which he derived from his own breaſt, and Infuſed into the whole people, as well as into the Magiſtracy that preſerved this Country. Some thing there was in all this that was Divine. The publick Councils were again ſetled, and the people were at quiet when they ſaw him veſted with a full authority for that time with Relation to peace and War, and concluded they were ſafe, becauſe they were in his hands. It ſoon appeared how faithfully he purſued the Intereſt of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propoſitions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without ſo much as conſidering the advantages that were offered to himſelf, (in which you know that I write upon ſure grounds.) He refuſed the offer of the Soveraignty of its Chief City, that was made to him by a ſolemn Deputation, being ſatisfied with that Authority which had been ſo long maintained by his Anceſtors with ſo much glory, and being juſtly ſenſible, how much the breaking in upon eſtabliſhed Laws and Liberties, is fatal even to thoſe that ſeem to get by it. He thus began his publick appearance on the Stage, with all the diſadvantages that a Spirit aſpiring to true Glory could wiſh for; ſince it was Viſible that he had nothing to truſt to, but a good cauſe, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage: nor was ſucceſs wanting to ſuch Noble beginnings: for he in a ſhort time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any thing that the World hath yet ſeen, recovered this State, out of ſo deſperate a diſtemper, took ſome places by main force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in ſo feeble a manner. And if a raw Army had not alwaies ſucceſs againſt more numerous and better trained Troops, and if the want of *Magazins* and Stores in their Allies Country, which was the Chief *Scene* of the War, made that he could not poſt his Army, and wait for favourable Circumſtances, ſo that he was ſometimes forced to run to action, with a haſte that his neceſſities impoſed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings

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of a Victory out of the hands of the greateſt General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an ingagement, and in ſhort the forming the *Dutch* Army to ſuch a pitch that it became viſibly Superior to the *French*, that ſeemed to have been fed with Conqueſts: and the continuing the War, till the Prince that had ſacrificed the quiet of *Europe* to his GLORY, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemies Country, and in this very place, and to ſet all Engines on work to obtain that, by the mediation of ſome, and the jealouſies of other Princes: all theſe are ſuch performances that poſterity will be diſpoſed to rank them rather among the *Idea's* of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really tranſacted in ſo ſhort a time, and in ſuch a manner. And in concluſion every place that belonged to theſe States, and to their Neighbours along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being reſtored; theſe Provinces do now ſee themſelves under his happy Conduct, re-eſtabliſhed in their former peace and ſecurity. And tho ſome ſcars of ſuch deep wounds do ſtill remain, yet they find themſelves conſidered on all hands, as the Bulwark of Chriſtendom, againſt the fears of a new Monarchy, and as preſervers of the peace and liberty of *Europe*.

Here is a Harveſt, not for forced Rhetorick, or falſe Eloquence, but for a ſevere and ſincere *Hiſtorian*, capable of affording a work that will far exceed all thoſe luſcious Panegyricks of Mercenary pens: but a ſmall or a counterfeit Jewel muſt be ſet with all poſſible advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be ſhewed. I cannot end with a greater ſubject, and I muſt acknowledge my ſelf to be ſo inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, ſo I dare not truſt my ſelf too long, to the heat that ſo Noble an Object inſpires, therefore I break off abruptly.

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ADDENDA.

Ad page 210. *l.* 22.

The ſame learned perſon has ſince my firſt converſation with him upon this ſubject, ſuggeſted to me two paſſages of *Feſtus Pompeius*, that ſeem to determine this whole matter: and that tell us by what names thoſe Catacombs were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and what ſort of perſons were laid in them, we have alſo the deſignation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the dead bodies: and it appears particularly by them that in the Repoſitories of which that Author makes mention, there was no care taken to preſerve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulos antiquiſſimum genus ſepulturæ appellatos, quod ibi in puteis ſepelirenter homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici ſolent, extra portam Eſquilinam: quos quod ibi puteſcerent, inde prius appellatos exiſtimat puticulos Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuiſſe, ut patres-familiæ in locum publicum extra oppidum mancippia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea puteſcerent, nomen eſſe factum puticuli.* The other paſſage runs thus. *Veſpæ & Veſpillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucribus, ſed quia veſpertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees ſo exactly to the thoughts that a general view of thoſe Re-

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of a Victory out of the hands of the greatest General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an ingagement, and in short the forming the *Dutch* Army to such a pitch that it became visibly Superior to the *French*, that seemed to have been fed with Conquests: and the continuing the War, till the Prince that had sacrificed the quiet of *Europe* to his GLORY, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemies Country, and in this very place, and to set all Engines on work to obtain that, by the mediation of some, and the jealousies of other Princes: all these are such performances that posterity will be disposed to rank them rather among the *Idea*'s of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really transacted in so short a time, and in such a manner. And in conclusion every place that belonged to these States, and to their Neighbours along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being restored; these Provinces do now see themselves under his happy Conduct, re-established in their former peace and security. And tho some scars of such deep wounds do still remain, yet they find themselves considered on all hands, as the Bulwark of Christendom, against the fears of a new Monarchy, and as preservers of the peace and liberty of *Europe*.

Here is a Harvest, not for forced Rhetorick, or false Eloquence, but for a severe and sincere *Historian*, capable of affording a work that will far exceed all those luscious Panegyricks of Mercenary pens: but a small or a counterfeit Jewel must be set with all possible advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be shewed. I cannot end with a greater subject, and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, so I dare not trust my self too long, to the heat that so Noble an Object inspires, therefore I break off abruptly.

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ADDENDA.

Ad page 210. l. 22.

The ſame learned perſon has ſince my firſt converſation with him upon this ſubject, ſuggeſted to me two paſſages of *Feſtus Pompeius*, that ſeem to determine this whole matter: and that tell us by what names thoſe Catacombs were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and what ſort of perſons were laid in them, we have alſo the deſignation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the dead bodies: and it appears particularly by them that in the Repoſitories of which that Author makes mention, there was no care taken to preſerve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulos antiquiſſimum genus ſepulturæ appellatos, quod ibi in puteis ſepelirenter homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici ſolent, extra portam Eſquilinam: quos quod ibi puteſcerent, inde prius appellatos exiſtimat puticulos Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiquâ moris fuiſſe, ut patres-familiæ in locum publicum extra oppidum mancippia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea puteſcerent, nomen eſſe factum puticuli.* The other paſſage runs thus. *Veſpæ & Veſpillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucribus, ſed quia veſpertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees ſo exactly to the thoughts that a general view of thoſe Re-

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positories give a Man, that it will not be hard to perswade him that those burying Places that are now graced with the Pompous Title of Catacombs, are no other than the *Puticoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest sort of the *Roman* Slaves were layed, and so without any further Care about them, were left to rot.

Ad page 218. *l.* 1:

I have since my being in *Naples* instructed one that was going thither in this Particular, and have received this account from him, that he had taken Care to plum the Water at the furthest Pillar of *Caligula's* Bridge on the *Puzzollo* side: and found it was seven Fathom and a half deep: but he adds, that the Watermen assured him that on the other side before *Baia*, the Water was 26 Fathom deep: but as he had not a Plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Waterman had assured him that the Water was ten fathom deep at the *Puzzolo* side, tho upon trial he found it was only seven and a half: and by this Measure one may suppose that the Water is 20 fathom deep on the other side: So that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of, that Pillars of Brick could have been built in such a depth of Water.

FINIS.

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On
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HISTORY
Of the Revolutions that have happened in *Europe* in matters of Religion.

And more particularly on his Ninth Book that relates to England.

By G. BURNET, D.D.

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ON

Mr. VARILLAS's HISTORY

OF

The Revolutions that have happened in Europe *in matters of Religion, and more particularly on his* 9th *Book that relates to* England.

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MR. *Varillas* has within a few Years given the World ſo many Books of Hiſtory, and theſe have been ſo much read, and ſo well received, that it ſeems he thinks he is now ſo far poſſeſſed of the Eſteem of the Age, that he may venture to impoſe upon it the falſeſt Coyn that can be ſtruck, not doubting but that the name *Varillas* ſtampt upon it will make it paſs Current, and this being a time in which ſome have thought that they might do whatſoever they pleaſed againſt thoſe of the Religion, he it ſeems thinks he may likewiſe ſay whatſoever he pleaſed againſt them, that ſo there may be a due proportion between the Injuries that he does them with his Pen, and thoſe that others make them feel with ſeverer Tools, and perhaps he thought the ſeverities that are now exerciſed upon them, are ſo contrary to that

Tenderneſs with which the Humane Nature, not to ſay the Chriſtian Religion, is apt to inſpire all that are not Tranſported with ſuch violent Paſſions, that they drown the Motions of our Bowels towards the Miſerable, that nothing could divert the World from thoſe Merciful Inclinations, but the dreſſing up the firſt beginnings of the Reformation in ſuch odious Repreſentations, as might poſſeſs the Age with ſo much fury againſt them, that none of the Miſeries that they ſuffer, might create the leaſt Compaſſion for them.

It is true, Princes have their Prerogatives with which they take great Liberties as their ſeveral Paſſions are excited and dextrouſly managed, the deſire of Glory mixing with a Heat of Blood, at one time can produce a War, as terrible in its Conſequences, as it was injuſtifiable in its firſt beginnings, and the ſame ambition mixing with a Superſtitious diſpoſition of Mind, and working upon colder Blood, can at another Time produce a Violation of Edicts that have been ſolemnly ſworn to, and often confirmed, and accompany that with a ſequel of Severities, that are more eaſily lamented than expreſſed; yet an humble regard to the Sublime Character of a Crown'd Head lays a reſtraint on thoſe Groans, which we would rather ſtifle than give them their full Scope, leſt the Language of our Sorrows look like an accuſing of thoſe, whom, after all that our Brethren have ſuffered at their hands, we would ſtill force our ſelves to reverence, and therefore we chuſe rather to ſupport our Grief, than

to

to vent it at their coſt. But ſmall Scriblers, who have ſet a price upon their Pens, and ſacrifice our reputation, that they may merit a penſion at the hands of the chief Inſtruments of our Brethrens ſufferings, are not to look for ſuch reſpect: he that fights againſt the Laws of War ought to expect no quarter when he is taken.

A Hiſtorian that favours his own ſide, is to be forgiven, thô he puts a little too much life in his colours, when he ſets out the beſt ſides of his party, and the worſt of thoſe from whom he differs; and if he but ſlightly touches the failings of his Friends, and ſeverely aggravates thoſe of the other ſide, tho' in this he departs from the Laws of an exact Hiſtorian, yet this biaſs is ſo natural, that if it leſſens the credit of the Writer, yet it does not blacken him; but if he has no regard either to truth or decency, if he gives his imagination a full ſcope to invent, and his pen all the liberties of foul language, he ought not to think it ſtrange, if others take ſome pains to expoſe him to the World. And tho' their Conſcience and Religion obliges them to take other meaſures with relation to Truth, and their Breeding engages them to a ſtrict modeſty of Stile, yet if the things that are ſaid are as ſevere as they are true, and as wounding as they may appear ſoft, it is nothing but what a *Zeal* for Truth, and an Indignation at ſo much ill managed injuſtice draws from them.

It is not to be denied, that Mr. *Varillas* has an art of writing that is entertaining, he pre-

tends to discover many Secrets to give pictures of Men to the Life, and to interweave the Histories that he relates with a thread of Politicks that is very agreable, only this appears to be overdone, and those who have had much practice in humane Affairs see that the conduct of the World is not so steady and so regular a thing as he loves to represent it, unlookt for Accidents, the Caprices of some Tempers, the secrets of Amours and Jealousies, with other particular passions are the true sources of almost all that is transacted in the World; even Interest it self does not always govern Mankind, but Humour and Passion have their turns, and oft-times the largest share in humane affairs. So that I ever thought that his books had too much of the air of a Romance, and seemed too fine to be true. He does indeed now and then, to maintain his Reputation in his Reader's mind, vouch some Letter or Narrative, but he neither tells whether it is in Print, or in Manuscript, or where he had it, and where others may find it: so this way of Citation looked suspitious, yet I could not easily take up such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that all this was his own Invention, but being in *Paris* last Summer, I had the good fortune to become acquainted with some men of great probity, and that had perticularly applied themselves to examine the History of *France* with great exactness; they were of the Church of *Rome*, and seemed to have no other dislike at Mr. *Varillas*, but that which was occasioned by the liberty that he had given himself, to write his

his own Imagination for true Hiſtories, they aſſured me there was no regard to be had to any thing that he Writ, that he had gathered together many little Stories which he knit together as he pleaſed, and that without any good Authority: and they told me that the greateſt number of the pieces he cited were to be found no where but in his own fancy. In a word, they ſpoke of all his Books with a ſharpneſs of ſtile, and a degree of Contempt, that I will not repeat, leſt I ſeem to come too near his forms of Speech, which are the worſt Patterns that one can follow.

I found he was generally ſo much decried in *Paris*, that he has reaſon to ſay in his Preface, *that when the Archbiſhop of* Paris *thought on him, all the World had abandoned him*, for I did not find a Man under a more Univerſal Contempt than he was, and the eſteem in which his Works were held in Foreign Parts, far beyond what was paied them in *France*, was imputed to his Method of Writing, that wants none of the Beauties of Hiſtory, except that of Truth, and to the Ignorance in which Strangers live as to the particulars of their Hiſtory. It is true, at laſt he has found a Patron and a Penſion, and now he has given us an Eſſay of his Merits: but if this Work is examined ſeverely, he will very probably ſoon loſe his Appointments, ſince Mercenary Pens are ſeldome payed longer than they can be uſeful. Here one finds ſo much occaſion for Cenſure, that whereas in other Books one muſt run up and down to find Matter for a Critical Judg-

ment, here it occurs so copiously that a man must take care not to surfeit his Reader with too much of it; and therefore must chuse out the more remarkable Errours, and there are even so many of these, that it is to be feared that the World will not think him nor his Writings worth the time and the pains that must be bestowed on them.

Mr. *Maimbourg* has set a Pattern to the World, that tho' few will care to imitate, yet it has taken so much with the Present Age, that it is no light Indication of its degeneracy, when such Books are so much read and sold, in which the Writer seems to have so broken loose from all the common Measures either of Honesty or Shame, that one would wonder of what Composition he were made, if they did not know that he has lived 50 years in the Jesuite Order: For as he has no regard to Truth, or likelyhood in what he Writes, so he seems to be Proof against the evidentest discoveries of his Prevarications that are possible; and when they are laid open in a manner capable of making any man besides himself to blush, he neither has the Conscience to confess his Errours, nor the sense of Honour to justify himself: But he finds out still new matter to write on, and a new stock of *Champaigne* Wine, as I have been told, that he has oft said, to make his Blood boil till he has spoild another piece of History; and he thinks a scornful Period or two in a Preface is enough to carry off all the Shame to which his Errours ought to condemn him. He has also Impudence to dedicate his Books to the King,

and

and the world is ſtill willing to be cozened by him. This Trade has ſucceeded ſo well with him, that it ſeems Mr. *Varillas* vies with him in it, and as he has the chaſter ſtile, and the more natural Way of miſleading his Reader, ſo he has reſolved not to be behind him in a bold Quality that I love not to ſet down by its proper Name. But tho' Mr. *Varillas* has the Art to refine upon the Pattern that Mr. *Maimbourg* ſet him, yet Mr. *Maimbourg* is the Author of the Invention, and therefore he deſerves the better Penſion.

Hiſtory is a ſort of Trade in which falſe Coyn and falſe Weights are more Criminal than in other Matters; becauſe the Errour may go further and run longer: tho' theſe Authors colour their Copper too ſlightly to make it keep its credit long. If Men think there are degrees of Lying, then certainly thoſe that are the moſt loudly told, that wound the deepeſt, that are told with the beſt Grace, and that are tranſmitted to Poſterity under the deceitful Colours of Truth, have the blackeſt Guilt; but ſome Men have arrived at equal Degrees in hardning their Conſciences, and in ſteeling their Foreheads, and are without the reach either of inward Remorſes or publick Diſcoveries; ſo that as *Auguſtus* fancied there was a Charm in the Pillow of a *Roman*, that died hugely indebted, ſince without an extraordinary ſoporiferous Compoſition he could not fancy how ſuch a man could ſleep ſecurely; ſo if Humane Nature did not often produce ſome very irregular Individuals, a Man that feels the Authority that

Truth and Modesty have over a pure Mind, cannot easily imagine by what secret others can quite extinguish those Inclinations which he finds are so prevalent in himself. But I will now by Mr. *Varillas*'s leave take the Liberty to set before him some of his most conspicuous Errours, and tho' I do not expect much sincerity from himself, yet I hope the World will be Juster than he has shewed himself to be.

Mr. *Varillas* begins his History with a view of the Progress of that which he calls Heresy, in a Prophetick Stile, setting forth what Effects it was to produce, as if he were foretelling what was to fall out, and that for 11. Pages (according to the Impression of *Amsterdam*) this has so little of the Air of a Historian, and is so full of the Figures of a Declaimer, that it looks liker the Strain of a heated and angry Fryer, than of a grave and serious Writer of History, who ought to be always in cold Blood, and ought not to let the heats of a vitious Rhetorick transport him. But this is so like one of the forced Raptures of some Missionary, that one would think it was writ either by one of them, or for one of them. It is much a safer thing to prophecy concerning Matters that are past, than concerning those that are to come, and one is less in danger of committing Errours; yet when heat enters into matters of History, and meets with so vast a deal of Ignorance as is that of Mr. *Varillas*, no wonder if it carries him into great Errours.

If Mr. *Varillas* had gathered the History of the last Age out of any Books or out of those Letters

Letters that he ſo often vouches, he could not have ſaid that *Edward the 6ths* Tutor or Governour was the Duke of *Northumberland*, ſince there is not any one Book writ concerning that Time, that does not ſhew the contrary. The Duke of *Somerſet* was his Governour, and for the Duke of *Northumberland*, tho' the laſt two Years of that Reign, in which that King was paſt the Age of Tutelage, he bore the chief Sway of Affairs, yet he had neither the Character of the King's Tutor or Governour, nor any other whatſoever, but only that of a Privy Councellour, that was much conſidered by him, and he at his death profeſſed that he had been always a Catholick in his Heart, ſo that his pretending to be of the Reformed Religion to ſerve his Intereſt, ſhews that he belongs no more to our Church, than the new forced Converts belong to that of *Rome*. Pag. 5.

In the ſame Page he ſays that *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* did by her Baſtard Brother's perſwaſions marry a ſingle Gentleman, and on the Margent he gives his Name *Henry d'Arley*; this is a new Proof how little he knows the Books of the laſt Age. This *Henry* whom he calls *d'Arley* was *Henry* Lord *Darley*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Lenox*, which was one of the chief Families of *Scotland*, and a Branch of the Family of the *Stewarts*. It is true, it came off from it before the Crown came into it by Mariage, yet the Grandfather of this *Henry* had matched with one that was very near the Crown, and Coſen German to K. *James* the 4*th*, and Siſter

to

to *Hamilton* Earl of *Aran*, this *Lord Darly's* Mother was alſo Uterine Siſter to K. *James* the 5. being the Daughter to the Queen *Dowager* of *Scotland* that was K. *Henry* the 8th's Siſter, who by her ſecond Mariage with the Earl of *Angus* (*Dowglas*) had Lady *Iſabel Dowglas*, who was bred in the Court of *England*, and whom K. *Henry* the 8*th* married to the Earl of *Lenox*, that had by her this Lord *Darley*, who as he was the Queen of *Scotland's* Coſin German, was alſo the next Heir to the Crown of *England* after her, and might have been a dangerous Competitour to her in that Succeſſion, having been Born and Bred in *England*, ſo that this Marriage was ſo far from making her contemptible to her Subjects, that it was conſidered as the wiſeſt act of her Life: and Mr. *Var.* could not Imagine any thing more honourable to the Earl of *Morays* Memory, than to make him the adviſer of ſo wiſe a Choice. It is no wonder to ſee Mr. *Var.* make ſo bold with meaner Perſons, when he takes ſo much Liberty with the Royal Family of *England*, as to Stain their deſcent; for which if the conſideration of the Crowns they wear, did not reſtrain him, yet the particular regard to the King that now Reigns, ought to have taught him ſo much reſpect as not to have ventured to blot his Scutcheon ſo far as to call his Great Grandfather a ſingle Gentleman, and if he had paid the reſpect he owed to the Memory of that unfortunate Princeſs, he had not enlarged ſo much on her Story, but I know what is due to the Memory of a crowned Head, even when it is laid in Aſhes, and

tho'

tho'he makes an eaſie weakneſs to be her prevailing Character, upon which he would diſcharge all her Misfortunes, this Picture is ſo different from the Truth that ſhe was certainly one of the wittieſt and higheſt ſpirited Women that ever lived.

But it ſeems Mr. *Varillas* has pretended to ſome Penſion from the Crown of *England*, and in revenge for the diſappointment he has reſolved to debaſe the Race all he can. Here he affords our Kings the honour to be deſcended at leaſt from a Gentleman, tho' one of the ordinarieſt ſort; but upon another occaſion he is not ſo liberal, for in his Hiſtory he ſays that *Henry* the 8th had reaſons to deſire the Mariage of his Baſtard Son, the Duke of *Richmond*, with his Daughter *Mary*, that were too well known, for libels had been ſpread over all *Europe*, reproaching him that his Great Grandfather was not a Gentleman, but that by his Credit at Court, and by the vaſt riches that he had acquired, he had obtained leave to marry a Daughter of the Family of the *Plantagenets*, that was then 16 degrees diſtant from the Crown, and yet by that means his Grand-child came to reign; upon which he makes a long ſpeculation concerning the King's Reflections on that matter, and the Reaſons that reſtrained him from writing on that Subject, as if it were an ordinary thing for Princes to become their own Heralds. He alſo tells us how he comforted himſelf by the remembrance of the meanneſs of *Arbaces* K. of *Perſia*, that was the Son of a Lock-ſmith, whoſe Poſterity had reigned ſo long,

Lib 9. p. 249.

long, and with so much glory, and therefore he says he designed to marry his Natural Son and his Daughter together. Here is such a mixture of Impertinencies, that it is not easie to know at what one is to begin, and if there were but this one period, it is enough to let the World see, how incapable Mr. *Varillas* is of writing History. I shall not in this place shew the falsehood of that imputation on *Henry* the 8th, that he designed this incestuous Match, for that will come in more properly upon another occasion; only if his Birth was defective on his Great Grandfathers side, it was an odd method for the correcting of it, to think of adding a new blot, and of bringing a Bastard into the Succession; so the reason is as fooliſh as the matter of fact is false, and the Ignorance that Mr. *Var.* shews here, is the more remarkable, because this matter belongs to the most extraordinary transaction that is in the whole *French* History, in which he pretends to be so conversant. I need not say any more to prove the *Tudors* to be Gentlemen, but to tell that they are *Welshmen*, of the Race of the Ancient *Brittans*, who do all pretend to the highest Birth of any in the *English* Nation, and do run up their Pedigrees to *Julius Cesar*'s time; among whom is the Ap. *Theodores*, or the Sons of *Theodore*, that by a corruption of some Ages were called *Tudors*: but knows Mr. *Varillas* so little of the *French* History, as to have forgot that the Daughter of *France*, that was married to *Henry* the 5th of *England*, in whose right both *Henry* the 5th, and her Son *Henry* the 6th,

were

were crowned Kings of *France* in *Paris*, did after King *Henry* the 5th's death, marry *Owen Tudor*, by whom ſhe had 3 Sons, the two eldeſt were made the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, being the Kings Uterine Brothers, and the next heirs to that Title, that he claimed to the Crown of *France*, in the right of his Mother (which I am far from thinking was a good one.) This being the caſe, it was no extraordinary thing for a man of the Earl of *Richmond*'s Rank to marry a Lady that was then at ſuch a diſtance from the Crown, tho' it was only in the 6th and not the 16 degree; but I do not inſiſt on this, becauſe it may be only the fault of the Printer, and I will not deſcend to a doubtful fault, when I have ſuch material ones in my way. I know there are a ſort of men that are much more aſhamed when their Ignorance is diſcovered, than when their other vices are laid open, ſince degenerate minds are more jealous of the reputation of their underſtanding, than of their honour. And as Mr. *Varillas* is very like to be of this temper, ſo if a ſimpathy with Mr. *Maimbourg* has not wrought him up to the like pitch of aſſurance, ſuch diſcoveries as theſe ought to affect him a little; and here a Man is apt to loſe his patience, when he finds ſuch a Scribler pretend to defame the Nobleſt blood in the World.

There is nothing elſe in the firſt Prophetick *Rhapſody* that relates to our matters, ſo I was inclined to go from hence to a more particular enquiry into our *Engliſh* affairs, only the Ignorance that he diſ- Pag. 6.

covers

covers in the next paragraph is so surprising that I will bestow a short remark on it. He says, that the *Switzers* were so prevailed on by this pretext, that their separating themselves from the Roman Communion was the best expedient to preserve them from falling under the Dominion of the House of *Austria* (tho' it is certain they were then in no sort of fear of that) that the four chief Cantons were seduced in less than a years time; but that the seven little Cantons continued in the belief of their Fathers, and the two middle sised Cantons tollerated equally both the Religions.

One would have thought that a man that had pretended to the name of a Historian, would have at least begun his studies with some small taste of Cosmography, and would have taken some pains to know the Map; and as the *Switzers* are in the neighbourhood of *France*, so they have been so long the Allies of that Crown, that the Ignorance of the Importance of the Cantons is a falut in one that pretends to be such an illuminated Historian, that deserves a worse correction than I think fit to give it. To reckon *Basle* and *Shaffhousen* among the great Cantons, and *Lucern* among the small Cantons, *Soloturn* and *Fribourg* being also so considerable that some reckon them with the great Cantons; and to put *Glaris* and *Apenzel* in a superiour order to them that are among the smallest, of the least is such a Complication of errours that is not easy to imagine how he had the luck to fetch in so many into one period. But this is not all the Ignorance that is in it;

it; for whereas he pretends, that the four Cantons, that received the Reformation did it in leſs than a year, this is ſo falſe, that *Zwinglius* having begun to preach the Reformation in the year 1519. the whole matter was examined in a courſe a ſeveral years, and at laſt *Zurich* received the Reformation in the year 1525. *Bern* three years after in the year 1528. and *Baſle* a year after in the year 1529. as for *Shaffhouſe* I muſt confeſs my Ignorance, but there was at leaſt 10 years interval in this matter; and if *Lucern* is not ſo much in his favour, becauſe it is the Reſidence of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, yet I cannot imagine what has made him degrade *Soloturn* into the number of the ſmall Cantons, which is the Reſidence of the *French* Ambaſſadour, and is reckoned by many among the greater. But it is likely that he knew nothing of all this matter, except by report, and perhaps he thought the period would run ſmoother to range the Cantons thus, in the great, in the ſmall, and the midleſiſed Cantons, and that it would alſo reflect on the Reformation as a precipitated change to ſay that 4 Cantons turned in one year.

But tho' Impertinence is a fault ſcarce to be named, when one has ſo many of a more criminal nature in his way, yet ſuch as are more ſignal and more advantageouſly ſituated for the Reader's eye, deſerve to be viewed in our paſſage, with the ſcorn that they deſerve. Mr. *Varillas* begins his 3. book, which opens the progreſs of *Luther's* affairs, with a Preamble of 38. pages, in which he ſets out the ſtate of *Europe* at that time, ſo copiouſly, and with ſo little judgement, that he

beſtows

bestows 14. pages on the Conquests that *Selim* the Turk had made, and on his defeat of the *Mamelucks*. This whole tedious ramble signifies nothing to *Luther's* matters; but in short it was a secret to swell the Volume, and to raise the price of the book, as well as it must lessen the price of the Author, who shews, how little he understands where he ought to place his digressions. What notions does that view of every State of *Europe* give the world, that doe any way prepare the Readers mind for what was to come after, unless it be that Mr. *Var.* being to present a piece of as arrant Poetry as any that ever possessed the Stage, he thought it necessary to fill it at first with many Actors, and to make a great appearance, tho' none of them were to act any part in in his Play? But since he will needs be writing, tho' he understands not the common Elements, I will take the pains for once to instruct him a little how he ought to have made this introduction, since he it seems was resolved to begin with one.

He ought then to have open'd the State of *Europe* with Relation to Religion and Learning; he ought to have shewed what scandals the *Popes* and the Court of *Rome* had given, what was the State of the secular Clergy, the Ignorance, Irregularity, and vices of the Bishops and Curates; what were the disorders and dissolutions of the Monastick Orders, both of those that were endowed and of the Mendicants. He ought to have shewed in what sort of Studies they imploied their time, and with what

what ſort of Sermons they entertained the People, and to this he ought to have added ſomewhat of the State of the Univerſities of *Europe*; and of the beginnings of Learning that were then ariſing. He ought to have ſhewed the different Intereſts, in which the ſeveral Nations of *Europe* were engaged, after the times of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſle*; and to this he might have added the State of the Courts of *Europe* with Relation to Religion, upon all which he might have found matter for a long, and a much more pertinent Introduction. And to conclude, he ought to have told the Diſpoſitions, in which the Peoples minds were, as to thoſe matters: and if he would needs make a vain ſhew of his faculty of telling of tales, he might have ſet out the State of the *Eaſtern* Churches, after the Treaty at the Council of *Florence*, and of its effects; of the ruine of thoſe Churches; and of the Ignorance, as well as miſery to which they were reduced by the rigour of the *Mahometan* yoke. It is true this was not a neceſſary preliminary to the bringing *Luther* on the Stage, but it had been much leſs impertinent, than a long recital of *Sultan Selim's* Conqueſts.

But I am carried too far, and hereafter I will confine my ſelf to that, which does more immediately belong to me. He begins that part of his Advertiſement, that relates to the Affairs of *England*, with a ſort of an Apophthegme worthy of him: *He ſays, it is without Compariſon more difficult to be exactly true in Matters of Religion, than in other Matters, ſince in thoſe others, it is only*

only Interest and Passion that make Men lie; but in Matters of Religion Conscience does so entirely conquer all the Powers of the Soul, and reduces them to such a Slavery, that it forces a Man to Write that which it dictates, without troubling himself to examine whether it is true or false. Here is such a View of his Notion of Religion, that how false soever this Proposition is in it self, yet it gives us a true Light of his Ideas of Religion. Good God! shall that Principle, which does Elevate and Illuminate our Natures, be considered as a more powerful depravation of them, than that which flows either from Interest or Passion? Shall that which is the Image of the God of Truth, and that reduces the Soul to a chaste purity of Spirit, be made the Author of the Enslaving of all our Powers, and the Emancipating us from all scrupulosity concerning Truth or Falsehood? This perhaps is the Character of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion, tho' those that know him well assure me, that Religion makes very little Impression on him; and if that is true, then his Apophthegme fails in himself, since the Interest of a Pension, and the passion of making himself acceptable in the present time, have as Intirely freed him from all regard to Truth, as ever any false Principle of Religion did an enraged Zealot. It is matter of horrour to see Religion, and Conscience set up as the violentest Corrupters of Truth: but we know out of what School this has sprung, and it seems Mr. *Varillas* has so devoted himself to the Order of the Jesuites, that he is resolved to speak aloud, that which they more

more prudently think fit to whiſper in ſecret, and indeed if we may judge of him by this Character, that he gives of Religion, we muſt conclude him to be entirely poſſeſſed with it, ſince never Man ſeem'd to be leſs ſollicitous, than he is, concerning the Truth, or falſehood of the things that he avers.

He accuſes me of favouring my own ſide too much, and that if I confeſs ſome of King *Henry's* Faults, it is only that I may have an occaſion to excuſe the wretched *Cranmer*. This is ſome Intimation, as if he had read my Book, but I do not believe he has done it: for tho' I have no great Opinion either of his Vertue, or of his Underſtanding: yet I do not think, he is ſo forſaken of Common Senſe, and of all regard to his Reputation, as to have adventured to have advanced ſo many notorious falſehoods, if he had ſeen upon what Authentical grounds I had ſo expoſed them, that I do not think it poſſible even for Mr. *Maimbourg* himſelf, after all his 50 years Noviciat, to arrive at a Confidence able to maintain them any longer, if he had once read my Book, and what I had writ was at leaſt ſo important, that he ought to have weakned the credit of my Hiſtory, by ſome more evident Proofs than that of ſaying barely, that I was extream partial to my own ſide. My book was ſo much read, and ſo favourably ſpoken of in *France* theſe three Years paſt, that in common decency he ought to have alledged ſomewhat to have juſtified his Cenſure; but this manner of writing was more eaſy, as well as more imperious. And if a large

Volume

Volume of History supported with the Authentick proofs, that has ever yet perhaps accompanied any Book of that sort, is to be thus shaken off, it is a vain thing to write Books for Men of Mr. *Varillas*'s temper.

This had been more pertinent, if he had voucht for it a report, which was so spread over *Paris*, that I had received advices of it from several hands, of a design in which, as was reported, a Clergy man was engaged that has many excellent qualities, to which Mr. *Varillas* seems to be a great Stranger, for he has both great application, and much sincerity. He has searcht with great exactness that vast Collection of MSS. that relate to the last Age, which are laid up in the King's Library, and he had found so many things relating to *England*, that he intended to publish a Volume of Memoirs relating to our Affairs: he had also said, that in some things he would enlarge himself more copiously than I had done, and that in other things he must differ from me. Matters generally grow bigger by being oft told, so this was given out as a design to write a Counter-History, which should overthrow all the credit that my Work had got. But upon my coming to *Paris*, I found some sincere enquirers into truth, and who by consequence are Men that have no value for Mr. *Varillas*, who intended to bring us together that we might in an amicable manner reason the matter before some of our common Friends, and both of us seemed to be so well disposed to sacrifice all to truth, that two Persons of such Eminence, that

that they can receive no honour by the moſt advantageous Characters that I can give them, who were Mr. *Thevenot* and Mr. *Auzont*, did procure us a meeting in the King's Library, and in their preſence. In which the Abbot as he diſcovered a vaſt memory, great exactneſs, and much ſincerity, ſo he confeſſed that he had no exceptions to the main parts of my Hiſtory; he mentioned ſome things of leſs moment, in all which I gave not only our two learned Arbiters, but even himſelf full ſatisfaction, ſo that I quickly perceived I had to do with a man of honour. He inſiſted moſt on the judgment of the *Sorbonne* againſt K. *Henry*'s Mariage, which is not in their Regiſters. But I was certainly informed by a Dr. of the *Sorbonne*, that their Regiſters are extreamly defective, and that many of their Books are loſt. He alledged a Letter to K. *Henry* that he had ſeen, telling him, that it was to be feared that he might be diſpleaſed with the deciſion of the *Sorbonne*, and that it might do him more hurt than good, which Letter bearing date after the deciſion that I have printed, does not ſeem to agree with it. To this I anſwered, that all the other deciſions of Univerſities being given ſimply in the King's favour, and that of the *Sorbonne* bearing only, that the Majority had declared for him, this left a blot upon the matter, ſince when the Oppoſition is inconſiderable, Deciſions are given in the Name of the whole Body; but the mention of the Majority imported, that there was a great Oppoſition made, which, tho' it was not ſupported by a number equal to

the

the other, yet was ſo conſiderable, as to leſſen very much the Credit of the Deciſion. To this I added, that K. *Henry*'s Printing this the year after it was given, and none ever accuſing that piece of Forgery, Card. *Pool* on the contrary acknowledging that he was in *Paris* when it was obtained, theſe were undeniable Evidences of its Genuineneſs, to which he anſwered by a hearty acknowledgment, that he had ſeen another Letter, in which the detail of the whole Proceeding of the *Sorbonne* is ſet down; and, as I remember, there were but one or two more than the Majority, that opined on the Kings ſide; but the reſt were in different Claſſes. Some ſuſpended their Opinions, others, tho' they condemned the Mariage, yet did not think it could be broken, ſince it was once made: and ſome were poſitively of the Pope's ſide. In end, after ſome hours diſcourſe, in which all the Company was fully ſatisfied with the Anſwers that I gave, he concluded, that as he had ſeen many more Letters relating to that matter than I had done, ſo if I thought fit, he would furniſh me with a Volume of Authentical proofs for what I had already Printed. And theſe were the Letters of the *French* Ambaſſadours, that were in King *Henry* the 8th's Court, that are in the King's Library; but I did not ſtay long enough in *Paris* to procure this.

Now what thoſe Letters of Cardinal *Bellays* are, upon which Mr. *Varillas* pretends to found his Relation, I cannot imagine. For as he came not to act in this matter till the laſt ſtep of it; ſo his Letters cannot carry any long Series of

of this affair in them, and they muſt be far from giving thoſe long excurſions, into which Mr. *Varillas* always delights to wander. And, as I remember, I was particular told, that thoſe Letters were in the King's Library, and ſo, ſince all that was there, agreed with my Hiſtory, this muſt paſs among thoſe hardy Citations of Authors, that Mr. *Varillas* is apt to make, to give credit to his Inventions.

He flouriſhes a little to ſhew ſome ſmall reading, but he is as unhappy in that, as in other things. He mentions *Cambden*, as having writ the Hiſtory of that Revolution with ſome more moderation, than he is pleaſed to allow me; but he ſays, he does ſo conſtantly favour the *Calviniſts*, in prejudice of thoſe that he calls *Catholicks*, that one needs only read the firſt page, that turns up to him, in any part of his Hiſtory, to be convinced of it. This is a very good proof that Mr. *Varillas* never opened any one page of *Cambden*; Since he does not write of that Revolution. For he begins his Hiſtory with Q. *Elizabeth's* Reign, and ſays no more of what went before her time, than what amounts to a very ſhort hint of her Birth and Education, and a general Introduction into her Reign; and that Hiſtory is writ with ſo much judgment and impartiality, that as it acquired the Author the friendſhip and eſteem of that eminent Hiſtorian Mr. *du Thou*; ſo he after *Cambden's* Death publiſhed the ſecond Volume

lume, from the Manuſcript that the Author had ſent him. If the diſcovery of a great many Rebellions and Conſpiracies againſt the Perſon of that famous Queen is that, which diſguſts Mr. *Varillas* at that Hiſtory, it is becauſe his Religion has ſo enſlaved his Conſcience, that he is ſo little concerned in Truth or Falſehood, as not to be able to endure one of the graveſt Writers, that this Age has produced, becauſe he could not avoid the Recital of thoſe many Crimes, and ſome of the Men of Mr. *Varilla's* principles as to Religion were not afraid to commit. After this he mentions another of our Hiſtorians, whom he calls Dr. *Morton*, and to make his Reader know that he is acquainted with the Hiſtory of his Life, he tells us he was afterwards a Biſhop; but this is one of the Authors of his invention, for tho' we had a Doctor *Morton*, that was Biſhop of *Durham*, and that died about 30 years ago; yet he writ no Hiſtory. By the Character that Mr. *Varillas* gives this pretended Author, that he was more moderate than *Cambden*, I fancy he is miſtaken in the Name, and that he would ſay Dr. *Heylin*, tho' this Name and *Morton* have no affinity; but *Heylin* was no Biſhop: it is true Dr. *Heylin* has writ ſo moderately, that ſome have been ſevere upon him for it; but I will make no other Reflections on this, unleſs it be to ſhew the ſlightneſs of Mr. *Varillas's* way of writing, who it is likely had heard one talk at the

ſame

ſame time both concerning Dr. *Morton* and Dr. *Heylin*, and he in his aſſuming way, pretends upon this to give a Character of that Hiſtory, putting the Name *Morton* for *Heylin*; but he never read a Word of Dr. *Heylin*, tho' in his daring way, he pretends to give his Character; and repents himſelf of the praiſe of Moderation that he had given in preference to *Cambden*, and ſets it it out as an artifice, ſince whereas *Cambden* blames always the pretended Catholicks without any mitigations; *Morton* in blaming them counterfeits ſome pity for them, that is to ſay, he had ſome degrees of Mr. *Varillas's* Character of Religion. But Dr. *Heylin's* Hiſtory being writ only in *Engliſh*, and it having never been Tranſlated either into *Latin* or *French*, Mr. *Varillas* cannot give a Character of it from his own knowledge.

From our ſide he goes to the Writers of the *Roman* ſide, and begins with another eſſay of his exactneſs to his Principles of Religion. For he ſays, *Sanders* writ ſo violently, that it was no wonder if the Proteſtants carried their revenge ſo far, as to force him to die of hunger, in the Mountains of the North of *England*, to which he had retired. Here are only three Capital Errours: for 1. *Sanders's* Book, concerning the Engliſh Schiſm, was not publiſhed till after his Death, ſo that this could give no occaſion for ſo ſevere a revenge. 2. *Sanders* did not die in the North of *England*,

but in *Ireland*. 3. *Sanders* was sent over by the Pope to raise and conduct a Rebellion in *Ireland*, for which he had immediate powers from the Pope. He was so active, that he brought an Army together, which was defeated by the Queen's Forces: and upon that he fled into a Wood, where he was, some days after, found dead. So that having received no Wounds, it was believed he died of Hunger. This being the state of that affair, as it is related of all sides, is not Mr. *Varillas* a very creditable Author, who has the brow to report it as he does? For the Character that he gives of *Ribadeneira*, it is so embroiled, that I do not think it worth the while to examine it. It is enough to say that *Ribadeneira* is a Jesuit, that is to say, a Man true to Mr. *Varillas* his Character of Religion, and his History is nothing but *Sanders* drest up in another Method. I speak of that which is in *Latin*, for the *Spanish*, I have never seen it. For *Lesley* he is generally a grave and wise Writer, but Mr. *Varillas* names him, because some body had told him, that one of such a name had writ of those matters, otherwise he had never cited him with relation to English Affairs, which he scarce ever mentions, but as they happened to be intermixt with the *Scotch*.

In conclusion, Mr. *Varillas* pretends to depend upon Cardinal *Bellay's* Letters, and so he thinks here is enough to settle, in the spirit of his Reader, a firm belief of all

that

that he intends to write; but let him tell the World where they are to be found, since the Printed Volume contains nothing of the matters, that he pretends to cite from him. And since I have printed so many of the original Letters of that Time, and have told the Reader where they are to be found, I will expect the like from him, otherwise let him cite them as long as he will, I will take the liberty to tell him that I do not believe him. And I think that by this time I have given him sufficient Reasons for excusing my incredulity, in matters that he gives us upon his own word. Here is enough for a preliminary. But I am affraid I grow heavy to my Reader; and that by this time he is so fully satisfied concerning the Principles both of Mr. *Varillas*'s Religion, and his Morals, that he begins to lose Patience, when he sees how far I am like to carry him in a more copious Discovery. But there are a sort of Men, that must be severely repressed: and there are some times in which even a Fool is to be answered according to his Folly. Yet I will so far manage my Reader, as not to overcharge him too much; therefore as to many of those Political digressions, that Mr. *Var.* makes upon the interest of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, I will pass them quite over, as the whipped Cream that he sets before his Reader. Some of them are not unpleasant, if they were proposed as Considerations, which might perhaps have had their Weight:

but his averring them confidently is not to be excused, they might pass in a kind of a Book of Politicks as a refining upon the Actions of Princes; but this way of writing is by no means to be allowed in History, since it is without any sort of Evidence, and History ought to relate things as we find they really were designed, and transacted; and not as we imagine they ought or might have been. I am now entring upon a Subject, in which it will be much more easy for me to say too much, than too little: for Mr. *Varillas* commits so many Errours, that tho' I am resolved to let lesser matters pass unregarded, yet I find so many in my way, which require a Discovery, that I am engaged in a Task as ingratefull to my self, as it must be severe upon him.

P. 226. „ 1. He begins with an assurance, „ that all the rest of *Wiclif's* Here- „ sy were so entirely rooted out of „ *England*, that the whole Nation, without „ excepting one single Person, was of the same „ Religion during the Reign of *Henry* the 7th.

I am not now near the Records of that time, but in my History I have shewed by the Records of K. *Henry* the 8th's Reign, that in the year 1511, which was but two years after *Henry* the 7th's Death, there remain yet in the Registers of the See of *Canterbury*, the Processes of 41 Persons, of whom 7 were condemned for Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the rest had the weakness to abjure; and from this hint one must conclude, that

that Mr. *Varillas* had no knowledg of our Affairs; but he thought the Period was rounder, and the Air of Writing was more aſſuming, when he aſſerted that the whole Nation, without excepting one ſingle Perſon, was of the ſame Religion. The Opinions objected to thoſe Perſons, ſhew, that the Reformation found a diſpoſition in the Nation, to receive it by the Doctrines, which were entertained by many in it: For the chief of them are, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not Chriſt's Body, but material Bread: That Images ought not to be Worſhipped: That Pilgrimages were neither neceſſary nor profitable: and that we ought not to addreſs our Prayers to Saints, but only to God.

But ſince this may be thought only a Flouriſh of Mr. *Varillas*'s Pen, I go to other matters, in which it cannot be denied that a greater exactneſs was neceſſary.

„ 2. He lays down for a foundati-
„ on to all that was to come after, P. 228.
„ that P. *Arthur* was very un-
„ healthy, when he was Married. That he
„ was recovering out of a great Diſeaſe, of
„ which he died 5 Months after. It is true,
„ he does acknowledge, that three Words
„ in the Bull, that was granted for the ſub-
„ ſequent Marriage, ſeem to import, that
„ this Marriage was conſummated: yet he
„ takes the Word of the other Hiſtorians,
„ and repeats this of P. *Arthur*'s ill Health
„ ſo often, that he hoped, it ſeems, by that

„ means to make his Reader ſwallow it „ down eaſily.

Here he had writ a little more artificially, if he had ſet over againſt this, on the Margent ſome Citation of a Letter, or Recital, which would have coſt him nothing, and have been full as true, as his other Citations are. Many Witneſſes that were examined upon Oath, depoſed before the Legates, when this matter was examined, that P. *Arthur* was of a good Complexion, vigorous and robuſt, when he was married; that he bedded with his Princeſs every night: and the Decay of which he died, was aſcribed to his too early Marriage. And of this Mr. *Varillas* takes ſome notice, without reflecting on the conſequence, that the Reader might naturally draw from it; for he ſays, K. *Henry* the 7th delayed the marrying of his ſecond Son 6 years after he had obtained the Bull, and that the death of his eldeſt Son made him apprehend the loſs of his ſecond Son, if he married him ſo young, and tho' he interweaves a Politick reflection, according to his way, that is to ſay impertinently, and ſays, if this fear was not altogether juſt; yet ſince K. *Henry* the 7th had no other Son, it was not altogether unreaſonable. But it is obvious that this is altogether impertinent, if P. *Arthur's* Marriage went no further than a publick Ceremony. But there are other Circumſtances that overthrow this, as much as a thing that is of its nature ſecret, is capable of being diſproved. it is ſaid by our

P. 240.

our Hiſtorians, who writ at that time, that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour took Proofs of the conſummation of the Marriage. And in the Bull of Diſpenſation, for the ſubſequent Marriage, this was alſo ſuppoſed as a thing that was perhaps done. But tho' our Author ſet on the Margent the preciſe Words, in which he ſays that was conceived; yet either he never read the Bull, and ſo took this upon truſt, or he was in a fit of his Religion, which was ſo violent, that it made him not only take no care of what he ſaid, whether it was true or falſe; but made him advance a deliberate falſehood. For whereas in the Preamble of the Bull of Diſpenſation for the younger Brother, it is ſet forth, that *P. Arthur* and the Princeſs had been lavvfully Married, and had perhaps conſummated their Marriage, vvhere the matter of Fact is ſet dovvn in a dubious manner, he makes that the Diſpenſation had allovved their Marriage, even tho' the the former had been conſummated. And as the Words that he cites are not the Words of the Bull, ſo they give a different Notion of the matter; ſince as he gives the Words, they ſeem only to be a Clauſe put in, to make the Bull more unqueſtionable; vvhereas in truth they are apart of the matter of Fact repreſented to the Pope. And tho' this doubtful way of repreſenting this matter of Fact, that is in the Bull, was all that could be decently ſaid upon this caſe, yet it ſeems the

P. 739. Illudque carnali copula forſan conſummaviſſetis Etiamſi Matrimonium fuerit per carnalem copulam conſummatum

Spaniards, vvho knevv the Marriage vvas consummated, resolved to set the matter past dispute, for they either procured at that time a Breve, of the same date vvith the Bull, or they forged one afterwards, in vvhich in the Preamble this matter is asserted, vvithout any *perhaps*, or other limiting Word, it being positively set forth, that the Marriage vvas consummated. If Mr. *Varillas*'s Religion sets him at liberty from the Scrupulosity of vvriting truth, yet that profound Policy to vvhich he alvvays pretends, should oblige him to take a little care, that the falsehoods that he advances, may not be easily discovered.

P. 232. 3. „ He says, *Henry* the 8th vvas „ 12. year old, vvhen his Brother di- „ ed; and that his Father had design- „ ed him for the Ecclesiastical State.

This vvas taken up by the Writers of the last Age, to make the Parallel between *Julian* the Emperour and him seem to agree: that as *Julian* had been a Reader in the Church; so King *Henry* should be represented as an *Abbot* with a little band. But as King *Henry* was not 12. year old, when his Brother died, for he wanted some Months of 11: and as at that Age young Princes, considering the respect that is payed to them in their Education, have seldom been found far advanced in Learning; so it does not appear, that he had then any other Education different from what was given to his Brother, who understood Latin, and some of the beginnings of Learning. Learning was then

then in great Reputation, and King *Henry* the 7th. engaged his Children to ſtudy, either to raiſe their Authority the higher by that means, or perhaps to amuſe them with Learning, that they might not think of pretending to the Crown during his Life, ſince the undoubted Title to it reſting in the Perſon of their Mother, it had devolved upon them by her Death, tho' they did not think fit to claim their Right.

„ 4. He ſays, that when King *Hen-*
„ *ry* the 7th. intended to Marry his Ibid.
„ younger Son to P. *Arthur's* Widdow,
„ the Privy Council of *England* approved it the
„ more eaſily, becauſe of the precaution that had
„ been taken to hinder the conſummation of the
„ former Marriage: and to confirm this, he cites
„ on the Margent the Petition, that the Parlia-
„ ment of *England* offered to P. *Alexander* the 6th.

But as the Depoſitions are yet extant of the Duke of *Norfolk*, that was then a Privy Councellour, and of two others, that there was no precaution uſed to hinder the Conſummation; ſo *Warham*, that was at that time Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, oppoſed the ſecond Marriage, as being neither honourable, nor well-pleaſing to God, as he himſelf did afterwards depoſe upon Oath. The Parliament took no Cogniſance of the matter, nor did it make any Addreſs to the Pope; ſo that this Citation is to be conſidered as an Effect of Mr. *Varillas* his notion of Religion.

„ 5. He runs out, in his manner, in-
P. 235. „ to a long Speculation concerning the
„ different intereſts of *England* and
„ *Spain*,

„ *Spain*, that made the *Spaniards* go backwards
„ and forwards, in the agreeing to the Match,
„ that propoſed for P. *Henry* and the Princeſs;
„ whom by an extravagant affectation he calls
„ always Duke of *York*: and makes the Prin-
„ ceſs's Parents repreſent to King *Henry* the 7th,
„ the danger of his Son's growing weary of the
„ Princeſs, ſince he was four year younger than
„ ſhe was, and that in order to the procuring of a
„ diſſolution of the Marriage from the Court of a
„ *Rome*, he might pretend that his Father had
„ forced him to Marry her, whenever he ſhould
„ grow weary of her.

All the other Writers of that time put King *Henry* the 7th's deſiring this ſecond Marriage meerly on his coveteouſneſs, which made him equally unwilling to repay the Portion, or to ſend a great Joynture yearly after the Princeſs: and the Prince of *Wales* was too great a Match to be ſo uneaſily admitted by the King and Queen of *Spain*. He whom he calls by the Title of the Duke of *York*, was indeed only Duke of *York*, for ſome Months after his Brother's Death, during which time it was ſuppoſed, that the Princeſs might be with Child by his Brother; which proves beyond exception, that it was believed, that the firſt Marriage was conſummated. But when there was no more reaſon to apprehend that, then he carried the Title, that belongs to the Heir apparent of our Crown. But it ſeems the King and Queen of *Spain* were more eaſily ſatisfied in this matter, than Mr. *Varillas* would make us believe they were: for

two

two years after the Bull granted, when P. *Henry* came to be of Age, he inſtead of entring into any engagement to Marry the Princeſs, made a ſolemn Proteſtation in the hands of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by which he recalled the Conſent that he had given during his Minority, and declared that he would never Marry her. But it is very likely Mr. *Varillas* had never heard of this, tho' the inſtrument of that Proteſtation was not only mentioned, but Printed by many of the Writers of that Age: and it is confeſſed by *Sanders* himſelf, who, after all Mr. *Varillas*'s flouriſh with his Letters, is his only Author. And for this foreſight, that he thinks he may juſtly aſcribe to the King and Queen of *Spain*, becauſe they are repreſented by the Writers of that time, to have had an extraordinary Sagacity, the reaſon that he makes them give, ſhews it was a contrivance of his own: ſince a mortal force, ſuch as the Authority of a Father was never ſo much as pretended to be a juſt ground to annul a Marriage after it was made and conſummated; otherwiſe moſt of the Marriages that have been made, might have been diſſolved.

6. "He adds to this another ſpe-
"culation, that is worthy of him, he P. 236.
"pretends that the King and Queen
"of *Spain* apprehened, that had acquired
"the Crown of *England*, and by conſequence
"had a right to diſpoſe of it at his pleaſure;
"upon which the Crown of *Spain* was afraid,
"leaſt he ſhould have diſinherited his Son and

„given

"given the Crown to the Duke of *Suffolk*;
"that was then at *Bruſſels*, and was preparing
"an Invaſion of *England*, from which they did
"not know, but King *Henry* the 7th, might
"ſave himſelf, by declaring *Suffolk* his Suc-
"ceſſour, and that upon thoſe fears they were
"unwilling to conſent to the Match.

Here is ſuch a mixture of Follies, that it is not eaſy to tell which of them is the moſt remarkable. This Doctrin of the Crown of *England*'s being alienable at the King's pleaſure, might have paſſed well with thoſe, that ſome years ago thought to have ſhut out the next Heir, and yet even theſe did not pretend that it could have been done by the King alone. But here is a new Theory of Politicks, for which we are ſure Mr. *Varillas* can cite no Authories from the Laws and Conſtitutions of *England*. King *Henry* the 7th had indeed acquired the Crown, by defeating that Tyrant and Uſurper *Richard* the 3d: but as he pretended to be Heir of the *Lancaſtrian* Race himſelf, ſo by Marrying to the Heir of the Houſe of *York*, that was the right Heir, he by a conjunction of all Titles, made the matter ſure. But this gave him no right to alienate the Crown at his pleaſure, and to fancy, that a King may be induced to give away his Crown from his own Son, to the Perſon in the World that he hated moſt, and whom at his Death he ordered his Son never to forgive; who, by the way, was not Duke but only Earl of *Suffolk*, is Dream better becoming ſo ſleight a

brain

brain, as is that Mr. *Varillas*, than the conſummated wiſdom of the King and Queen of *Spain*. But thus it falls out when a Library Keeper turns States-man; and when from being a teller of Tales, he will turn Writer of Hiſtories, which he compoſes out of his own Imaginations, he muſt needs fall into childiſh errours. When do Kings fall under thoſe weakneſſes, as to diſinherit an only Son, to cover them from a remote fear: and a very remote one it was; for the Archduke needed at that time the aſſiſtance of *England* againſt *France* too much, to be in a condition to raiſe a Civil War in *England*, and to ſupport a competition to the Crown, which could have no other effect, as to him, but to give *France* an opportunity, during the diſtractions of *England*, to come and deſtroy him. In ſhort here is a Viſion of a poor-ſpirited Pedant, which is too much conſidered, when it is named and laught at.

7. "He pretends to enter into the P. 237.
"reaſons that were alledged at *Rome*,
"both for and againſt granting of the Bull;
"but at laſt he concludes, that Pope *Alex-*
"*ander* the 6th would not conſent to it; that
"he might not give occaſion to accuſe him, of
"having broken the Diſcipline of the Church.

But here is ſuch a falſe repreſentation of the Court of *Rome* at that time, and in particular of P. *Alexander* the 6th, that ſince Mr. *Varillas* will needs write Romances, I muſt put him in mind of one Rule; that as Painters ſhew their Judgment and Learning, in that

which

which is in one Word called *le Cuſtome*, obſerving their Air, Manners, and Habits of the Ages and Scenes to which their Pieces belong; ſo Poets, when they bring unknown Names into their Plays, they may cloath them with what Characters they pleaſe; but if they repreſent Men, whoſe Hiſtories are known, they muſt not confound Characters, nor repreſent a *Nero* as a grave Philoſopher, or as a good natur'd Prince; nor a *Marcus Aurelius* as a wanton Stage-Player, or as a bloody Tyrant. And therefore, tho' Mr. *Varillas* may ſhew his pretended diſcoveries, concerning Men that are leſs known, yet when he brings in an *Alexander* the 6th on the Stage, it is to bold a violation of Poetry, to lay a ſtrictneſs of Conſcience, or a ſence of Honour to his charge: and tho' there is one part of this Period true, that there had never been any diſpenſation of this ſort formerly granted, to ſerve as a Precedent for it: yet that exactneſs, in which he repreſents the Enquiry, that the Divines of *Rome* made concerning this matter, agrees ill with the State of the Court of *Rome* at that time; and a Painter may as juſtly repreſent the old *Romans* in Pantaloons and with Hats in their hands.

8. "He ſays, K. *Henry* the 7th
p. 240. "was preparing all things for the Mar-
p. 241. "riage of his Son, to the Princeſs
"when he died. And a little before,
"that he had ſaid, that her Parents ſacrificed the
"Intereſt of their Family to the ſatisfaction of
"the King of *England*, by conſenting to it.

A Match with the Heir of the Crown of

Englan d

England, was no very coſtly Sacrifice: and for his viſion concerning the deſign of Marrying her to the Duke of *Calabria*, and by that means of reſtoring the Kingdom of *Naples*, it does ſo ill agree with the Character of the King of *Arragon*, that ſince there is no proof brought of this, I muſt look on it as one of thoſe Imaginations, with which Mr. *Varillas* loves to entertain his Readers. But for K. *Henry* the 7th, he was ſo far from making any preparations for the Marriage, that one Moriſon of the Writers of that Age aſſures us, that his Death he charged his Son to break it, apprehending perhaps a return of a new civil War, upon the iſſue of a doubful Marriage

„ He gives us a new taſt of his unskillfulneſs in ordering his Scenes. He had found „ that when *Henry* the 8th's Divorce came to „ be ſtarted, there was ſome diſcourſe of a „ Match between him and *Francis* the firſt's „ Siſter, afterwards the Queen of *Navarre*, „ and therefore he thought a propoſition for „ her, might come in before the Marriage, as „ a pretty ornament to his Fable.

But the ſilence of all the Papers of that Time, which I have ſeen, is a much better evidence againſt it, than his pretended negotiation of Mr. *de Piennes* is for it, to which no credit is due. It is well known that in the Archives of *Venice* there are Recitals laid up of all the Negotiations of their Ambaſſadours, and Mr. *Varillas* having perhaps heard of this, he fancied it would have a good grace, to

cite

cite such Recitals as to French Affairs, tho' all that know the State of *France*, know, that this has not been the practice of that Court. But as there is no proof to shew that there was any such Proposition made at that Time, so the State of K. *Lewis* the 12th's Court differs extreamly from it, in which the Count of *Angoulesme*, afterwards *Francis* the first, and his Sister, were not so favourable, as to give us reason to think that pains was taken to raise that Lady to the Throne of *England*.

10. "He tells us, that King *Henry* the 8th "calling a Parliament in the beginning of his "Reign, they thought themselves bound in "point of Honour, to oblige to execute his "Father's Orders, relating to his Marriage; "who had not only made it the chief Article "of his Testament, and charged his Son to "do it upon his last Blessing; but had laid the "same charge on the Men of the greatest Credit "in *England*, as he spoke his last Words to them: "upon which the Parliament being careful to "maintain this Authority, to which they preten-"ded over their Master, did oblige him, by re-"peated Remonstrances to Marry the Princess.

Here he goes to shew how implacably he is set against the Crown of *England*: formerly he had debased their Birth, but he thought that was not enough; now he will degrade them of their Dignity, and give the Parliament a Superiority over them. But is is a fatal thing for an ignorant Man to write History: for if Mr. *Varillas* could have so much as opened our Book of Statutes, he would have

have found, that the first Parliament, that K. *Henry* the 8th held, was assembled the 21. of January 1510. almost eight Months after the Marriage, which was celebrated six Weeks after he came to the Crown, in which time; if Mr. *Varillas* had understood any thing of our Constitutions, he would have known, that it was impossible for a Parliament to have met, since there must be 40. Days between a Summons and a Meeting of Parliament; so that if the new King had summoned one, the Day after his Father's Death, it could not have met sooner, than the day before the Marriage.

11. "He says, the Queen bore five "Children, the first three, Sons, and "the other two, Girls; but the eldest Son "lived only 9 Months, and the other two "Sons, and the eldest Girl, died immediately "after they were born, only the youngest, "that was born the 8 of *February* 1515. was "longer lived." Ibid.

Mr. *Varillas* has a peculiar Talent of committing more Errours in one single Period, than any Writer of the Age: and here he has given a good essay of his art; for the Queen bore only three Children, the first was Son, born the 1 *January*, that died the 22 of *February* thereafter, which was not two full Months, much less 9 Months: the second Son died not immediately, but about a Fortnight after he was born: and the Daughter, afterwards Q. *Mary*, was born the 9th of *February* 1516. So

the

tho' by chance he hath hit the Month right, yet he is mistaken, both as to the Year, and the Day of the Month. So unadvised a thing it is for an ignorant Writer, to deliver matters of fact so particularly: for this may deceive others, that are as ignorant as himself, by an appearance of exactness; yet it lays him too open to those, that can find the leasure and the patience to expose him: and the last is no easy matter.

12. "He runs out into a very copious account of K. *Henry*'s Disorders, and dresses up Q. *Katharine*'s Devotions in a very sublime strain.

P. 246. It does not appear, that in all that time he had any other Mistress, but *Elizabeth Blunt*: and during all that while, he had the highest Panigyriques made him by all the Clergy of *Europe*, upon his Zeal for Religion and Piety; possible so, that if we did not live in an Age, in which Flattery has broke loose from all the restraints of Decency, they would appear very extravigant Commendations; and if the sublimities of Flattery were not rather a just prejudice against a Prince, which give a character of a swelling Ambition, and an imperious Tyranny, that must be courted by such abject methods, so that it is hard, whether we ought to think worse of the Flatterers, or the Flattered, we would be tempted to judge very advantageously of K. *Henry* the Eighth, by the Dedications

Dedications, and other other fawning Addreſſes that were made him. As for Queen *Catherine*, it does appear, that ſhe was indeed a vertuous and devout Woman: but Mr. *Varillas* being more accuſtomed to Legends, than to true Hiſtories, could not ſet out this, without a conſiderable addition of his own: for the half of it is not mentioned by any Author, that ever I ſaw, nor by any quoted but by himſelf: but a Poet muſt adorn his matter and if he has not Judgment, he overdoes

„ 13. He ſays, the King deſigned to marry his natural Son the Duke of *Richmont*, to his Daughter *Mary*, upon which he makes that long digreſſion, concerning the Names of the Race of *Tudors*, that was formerly conſidered. p. 248.

When a Man affirms a thing, that is ſo notoriouſly injurious to the Memory of a Prince, he ought at leaſt to give ſome ſort of Proof of its Truth: for tho' in the acceſſes of Mr. *Varillas*'s Religious Fits, he does not think fit to trouble himſelf with thoſe inconſiderable matters of Truth and Falſehood; yet all the World is not of his Mind, and ſome colours of Truth are at leaſt looked for. It is true, a Negative is not eaſily proved, ſo a bold affirmer ſaves, he has ſome advantages; but in this caſe it is quite otherwiſe; for the whole ſeries of the Original Inſtructions, Meſſages, and Letters, that paſſed between *Rome* and *England*

England, in that matter, are ſtill extant, in all which there is not the leaſt tittle, relating to this Propoſition. And there are ſome things of ſuch indecency, that nothing but a Temper like Mr. *Varillas*'s can bring them together. For when K. *Henry* was pretending a ſcruple of Conſcience, at his own marrying his Brother's Wife, it is very improbable, that he would have asked a Diſpenſation for a Marriage in a much nearer Degree. For *Sanders*, that is, Mr. *Varillas*'s Author ſays, that both Propoſitions were made at the ſame time. There were many Libels Printed againſt K. *Henry*, about that time, but the ſtrongeſt and beſt Writ was that of Cardinal *Poole*, in which it is viſible, that he ſpares nothing that he could alledg with any colour of Truth; yet he ſays nothing of this matter, tho' it had more weight in it to diſcover the King's Hypocriſy, in pretending to ſcruples of Conſcience than all the other things he alledges: and I never could find any other Author for this Story, before *Sanders*, whoſe Book was Printed 60 years after.

P. 250. „ 14. He gives another Eſſay „ of his Skill in Hiſtory, and that „ he is equally ignorant of the „ Hiſtories of all Kingdoms, when he re„ preſents to us the endeavours of the King „ of *Scotland*, for the obtaining of a Marri„ age with the Princeſs *Mary*, in favours of „ his Son, upon whoſe Perſon he beſtows „ of a kind daſh of his Pen, and he en„ ter

pers into a Speculation of the danger of that King *Henry* apprehended from this Proposition; and that if he had rejected it, the King and Prince of *Scotland* might have addressed themselves for it to the Parliament, and that the Parliament would have raised a general Rebellion, rather than have suffered King *Henry* to reject it.

The dislike that Mr. *Varillas* has conceived against the Crown of *England*, seems deeply rooted in him; for it returns very often. Here he represents forreign Princes complaining to Parliaments, when the Kings do not accept of Propositions for their Children; as if our Princes were less at liberty in the disposal of their Children, than the meanest of their Subjects are: but he knows our Constitution as little as he does the History of *Scotland*, otherwise he could not have represented the King of *Scotland*, pretending to the Mariage of the Princess, *Mary* for his Son; since King *James* the Fourth, that had Married King *Henry*'s Sister was killed at the Battle of *Floddam* the 2d, of *September* 1513, above three Years before the Princess was born, he left an Infant Son, between whom and the Princess, a Treaty of a Marriage was once proposed, but no progress was made in it, for K. *Henry* neglected it. And he had always his Parliaments so subject to him, to apprehend any of those vain Schemes, with which Mr. *Varillas* would possess his Reader. There are many

many that make no great Progreſs in Hiſtory, but yet know ſomewhat of the Deaths of Kings, and that carry ſome ſmall meaſure of Chronology in their Head. Yet ſince Mr. *Varillas* has not yet got ſo far, he had beſt buy ſome common Chronological Tables, and have them always before him, when he writes; and this will at leaſt preſerve him from ſuch Childiſh Errours.

„ 15. He tells us, that there were
P. 251. „ many Pretenders to the young Prin-
„ ceſs, and to make a full Period, he
„ tells us, that all the Soveraigns of *Europe* cour-
„ ted her, both the Emperour, the Kings of
„ *France*, *Spain*, and *Scotland*, and ſo he gives us
„ a fantaſtical Speculation of King *Henry*'s ba-
„ lancing thoſe Propoſitions one againſt ano-
„ ther.

But ſince for a round Period's ſake he will needs ſplit *Charles* the 5th. in two, and name both the Emperour and the King of *Spain* as two Pretenders, he might as well have ſubdivided him into the King of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, *Sicily* and *Naples*, and the very Titular Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, might have come in for its ſhare.

„ 16. He tells us, that tho' the
P. 252. „ Match of *Scotland* was the moſt for
„ the Intereſt of the Nation; yet King
„ *Henry* was ſo angry with his Nephew the King
„ of *Scotland*, for taking part againſt him, in his
„ laſt War with *France*, that he reſolved never
„ to give him his Daughter.

Here

Here Mr. *Varillas* will ſee again the neceſſity of purchaſing a Chronological Table, for tho' that will coſt him ſome Money, which as I am told, goes very near his heart; yet it will preſerve him from ſome ſcurvy Errours, they may ſpoil the Sale of his Books: for any one of thoſe Tables, even the worſt and cheapeſt, would have ſhewed him, that it was not his Nephew that took part with *France* againſt him; but his Nephews's Father: for King *James* the 4th, that vvas King *Henry's* Brother-in-law, made War on that occaſion, and was killed in it, leaving an Infant Son behind him; but it is pleaſant to ſee the Ignorance of this Scribler, that makes in one place King *James* the 4th. to Court the Princeſs for his Son, tho' he died ſeveral years before ſhe was born, and then makes King *James* the fifth to be making War with his Uncle during his Father's life, and while himſelf was an Infant.

„ 17. He ſays, the Emperour came,
„ and pretended the ſecond to the Prin- Ibid.
„ ceſs, and upon that he ſets dovvn a
„ large Negotiation, that he had vvith Cardinal
„ *Wolſey*.

But he ſhevvs here an Ignorance of *Charles* the 5th's Life, tho' he pretends to have made more than ordinary Diſcoveries concerning his Affairs, that proves, that he has ſtudied all Hiſtory alike ill. He reckons up the Series of the Propoſitions for the Princeſs quite vvrong; for ſhe vvas firſt contracted to the Dolphin the ninth of *November* 1518, by a Treaty yet extant, then

Charles the 5th. came into *England* in Person, and contracted a Marriage with her at *Windsor* the 22. of *June* 1522; after that there was a Proposition made for the King of *Scotland*, that was soon let fall; and last of all there was a Treaty set on Foot, for the King of *France* then a Widdower, or for his second Son the Duke of *Orleans*, it being left to *Francis's* option to determine that: and so remarkable a passage, as *Charles* the 5th's coming to *England* in Person, was unhappily unknown to Mr. *Varillas*; otherwise he would have dressed up a mighty Scene of Politicks to adorn it.

Ibid. „ 18. He gives us the Character „ and the History of Cardinal *Wolsey*, „ with his ordinary Colours, in which „ truth comes very seldom in for an ingredient, „ he tells us, how he was Bishop of *Tournay*, „ or rather Oeconomy of that See, and how many „ Journeys he made between *Tournay* and *London*; and that being enriched at *Tournay*; he „ got the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, after that, upon the Bishop of *Winchester's* death, he had that „ See, from that he was raised to be Archbishop „ of *York*; then he was made Chancellour of „ *England*, then Cardinal and Legat *à Latere*, and „ last of all, he was made Chief Minister of „ State; and to shew our Author's deep Judgment, this last Article seemed so doubtful a „ Point to him, that he must needs bestow a „ Proof on it, and he sends us to P. *Leo* the 10th's „ Register, tho' the advancements that he had „ already reckoned up, may well make this pass

„ without

„ vvithout a more particular Proof; nor is P. „ *Leo*'s Regiſter a place likely to find it in.

Here is a great deal to let his Reader ſee, hovv intirely he vvas poſſeſſed vvith the Hiſtory of that time; ſince he could run out ſo far vvith the Character and Hiſtory of that Miniſter; but for the ſtrain, in vvhich he ſets out his Character, one muſt ſee, it is only Mr. *Varillas's* fancy: for hovv came he to knovv Cardinal *Wolſey's* Air and manner of Deportment, even in the ſmalleſt thing. I that have ſeen much more of him in his Letters Diſpatches and Inſtructions than Mr. *Varillas* can pretend to have done, dare not go ſo far, becauſe I have not arrived at Mr. *Varillas* his pitch of Religion; but if his Character is no truer than the Hiſtory that he gives of *Wolſey*, I knovv vvhat name is due to it. He vvas made Biſhop of *Tournay* in *October*, and Biſhop of *Lincoln* in the *March* thereafter, or rather in *February*, for the Temporalty vvas given him the 4th. of *March*, vvhich is alvvays reſtored after the Conſecration, ſo that here vvas not time enough to make ſuch Journeys betvveen *Tournay* and *London*, nor to enrich himſelf vvith the former: he had *Vincheſter* but fifteen years after that; but he vvas made Archbiſhop of *York* tvvo years after he had *Lincoln*; he vvas alſo made Cardinal and Legate, before he vvas made Chancellour; for *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* vvas Chancellour vvhile he vvas Legate, and had ſome Diſputes vvith him, touching his Legative povver; upon vvhich he obtained that Dignity, for putting an

end to all disputes; and instead of his being last of all Minister of State, he was first of all Minister of State, while he was only the Lord *Almoner*, and all his other Dignities came upon him, as the natural effects of that Confidence and favour into which the King had received him.

19. "He cannot assent to some
Ibid. "Historians, that imagine he was the
"Confident of King *Henry*'s Pleasures,
"since he thinks if that had been true, he could
"not have been so cheated afterwards, as he
"was.

Here is a Demonstration that he never read my History, into which I have put, besides other Evidences of his being on the secret of *Anne Boleyn*'s matter, two Letrers, that she writ to him, which are undeniable proofs of it. But as for the long Story into which he runs out, concerning *Charles* the Fifth's Intrigues with him, and his way of writing to him, in the stile of Son and Cousin, for which he cites on the Margent the Emperours Letters to *Wolsey*, that lie in his fancy, that is the greatest Library in the World, but the hardest to be come at, all this is so losely writ, that it is plain Mr. *Varillas* had no light to direct him in it, since he says not a word of the most important circumstance of it, which was the Emperour's coming in Person to *England*, which was believed to have been done chiefly to gain *Wolsey* entirely, and in which it is certain,

that

that he had all the ſucceſs that he had wiſhed for.

20. "He ſays, *Wolſey* being alie-
"nated from the Emperour, engaged
"the King of *France*, after he was p. 251.
"ſet at liberty, to treat for a Match
"between the Dauphin and the Princeſs of
"*England*, upon which they were contracted
"with great Magnificency; but that was not
"enough, for the Cardinals's malice.

I have formerly ſhewed, that the propoſition of a Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princeſs was in the year 1518, long before *Francis* the Firſts Impriſonment; but the Treaty ſet on foot after his Liberty, was either for himſelf, or his ſecond Son, and this ſort of a Treaty being ſomewhat extraordinary where the alternative lay between the Father and the Son for the ſame Lady, Mr. *Varillas* ſhevvs his great ignorance of the Affairs of that Time, ſince he ſays nothing of it; for this would have given him occaſion enough to have entertained his Reader vvith many Viſions and Speculations.

21. "He ſays, that *Wolſey* dealt
"vvith *Longland* the King's Confeſſour, p. 258.
"to poſſeſs him vvith ſcruples concern-
"ing the lavvfulneſs of his Marriage, that
"*Longland* refuſed to do it, but engaged
"*Wolſey* to begin, and he promiſed to fortify
"the ſcruples, that the Cardinal ſhould infuſe
"into the King's mind. Upon which the
"Cardinal did open the matter to the King,

"and the King being ſhaken by his Propoſi-
"tion, laid the matter before his Confeſſour,
"who ſeconded the Cardinal.

In this he has taken the liberty to depart from *Sanders*, tho' he is the Author whom he generally copies; but it is eaſy to pretend to tell ſecrets, but not eaſy to prove them. The King himſelf did afterwards in publick not only deny this, but affirmed that *Wolſey* had oppoſed his ſcruples all he could, and that he himſelf had opened them in Confeſſion to *Longland*, and the King himſelf ſaid to *Gryneus*, that he was diſquieted with thoſe ſcruples ever from the year 1529, which was three years before the matter was made publick.

22. "He ſays, the King upon
p. 259. "thhat Conſulted the Divines of *Eng-*
"*land* concerning the validity of the
"Marriage, and that all thoſe that
"were Men of probity and diſintereſſed,
"anſwered in the affirmative; but ſome
"that did aſpire, or that were corrupted,
"thought it doubtful, others, who vvere very
"few in number, affirmed it was unlaw-
"ful.

This is ſo falſe, that all the Biſhops of *England*, *Fiſher* only excepted, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they thought the Marriage unlawful.

23. "He gives a Character of *Anne*
p. 260. "*Boleyn*, in which he takes up the com-
"mon Reports of her ill ſhape, her yellow co-
"lour, her gag tooth, her Lump under her Chin,
"and

"and her hand with ſix fingers: but becauſe all "this agrees ill to the Miſtreſs of a King, he, "to ſoften that, adds a long Character of her "Wit, her Air and Humour, in which he lays "her charms, and here takes all the licences "of a Poet, as well as of a Painter.

But as ſeveral of her Pictures, yet extant, ſhew the folly of thoſe Stories, concerning her Deformity, ſo the other particulars of this Picture are for the moſt part fetcht out of that Repoſitory of falſe Hiſtory, that lies in Mr. *Varillas*'s Imagination.

24. "He ſays, the Engliſh Hiſto- "rians, and ſome other Catholicks, *Ibid.* "agree to thoſe things, and for his "Vouchers he cites on the Mar- "gent *Sanders*, *Rebadeneira* and *Remon*; but "they add many other particulars, tho' they "differ concerning them, and tho' he will not "affirm them to be true; yet he thinks it "worth the while to ſet them down. They ſay "that *Anne Boleyn*'s true Father was not known: "that ſhe was born in *England*, while he was "Ambaſſadour in *France*: that *Henry* the 8th, "being in love with the Mother, had ſent away "her Husband, that ſo he might ſatisfie his Ap- "petites more freely, but that he ſoon quit- "ted the Mother for her eldeſt Daughter "*Mary*: that Sr. *Thomas Boleyn* at his return to "*England*, finding his Wife with Child, be- "gun a Sute againſt her, but that the King "forced him to be reconciled to his Wife, and "to own the Child that ſhe bore ſome time af-

"ter, who was *Anne Boleyn*: that this Daugh-
"ter at the Age of 15, was dishonoured by
"two of her Father's Domesticks, upon which
"she was sent to *France*, where she was so com-
"mon a Prostitute, that she went by the Name
"of the English Hackney: that she was a
"common subject of Raillery: that she became
"a *Lutheran*, tho' she made still profession of
"the other Religion. He says, others make
"her pass for a Heroine, that cannot be e-
"nough commended, yet he acknowledges
"there are not Authentical Evidences left, to
"discover their imposture.

Here is a vvay of vvriting, that agrees vvell with Mr. *Varillas*'s other Qualities: he vvas here in a cold fit, and so his Religion did not o-perate so strong as to disengage him quite from all regard to Truth; only it produces one start, that is sufficiently extravagant, for he accuses all that is said in favour of *Anne Boleyn* of imposture, tho' at the same time he acknowledges, that there are not Authentick Evidences to disprove it; but hovv then came he to knovv that those com-mendations were Impostures? He answers, that in the beginning of this Paragraph, and cites in general the Historians of *England* and other Catholick Writers: for the Historians of *England* he gives us *Sanders* alone, tho' he can hardly make a plural out of him, unless he splits him into three or four subdivisions, as he had done *Charles* the 5th, when he reckoned up the Emperour and the King of *Spain* as two

of

of the Pretenders to the Princeſs *Mary*. But tho' I have in my Hiſtory demonſtrated the falſehood of all this Legend ſo evidently that I had perhaps wearied my Reader, by proving that too copiouſly, yet ſince I ſee that nature can croud ſo much impudence in Mr. *Varillas* alone, as might ſerve even the whole Order of the Jeſuites, and that he is reſolved to keep up the credit of the blackeſt falſehoods, as the Church of *Rome* preſerves ſtill in her Breviary a great many Leſſons with Prayers and Anthems, relating to them, that are now by the conſent of Learned Men exploded as Fables, I muſt again lay open this matter, tho' I thought I had ſo fully confuted thoſe Lies, that even a Penſion could not have engaged a Man to ſupport them any more.

It may ſeem enough to an impartial Mind, that *Sanders* was the firſt, that ever publiſhed thoſe Stories, above 50 years after *Anne Boleyn*'s Death: that tho' Cardinal *Pool*, and the other Writers of that Time, had left nothing unſaid, that could blacken King *Henry*; yet none of them had brow enough to aſſert *Sander*'s Fictions: and that after *Anne Boleyn*'s Tragical Fall, when her Misfortunes had made it a faſhionable thing to blacken her, yet theſe impoſtures were reſerved for *Sanders*, and for an Age, in which he and many others of his Church were ſetting on many Rebellions and Conſpiracies againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, they were ſo powerfully acted by Mr. *Varillas*'s Spirit of Religion, tho' they had not the folly to own

it, as he has done, as to give themſelves the Liberty to ſay the fouleſt things againſt the Mother, without giving themſelves the trouble to enquire, whether they were true or falſe: and the things here advanced are of ſuch a nature, that either they muſt be evidently true, or they are notoriouſly falſe; for an Embaſſy into *France* of ſuch a continuance, a Sute moved upon Sr. *Thomas Boleyn's* return, were publick matters, and muſt have lien open to a diſcovery. The whole Recital is impoſſible, as it is told; for if ſhe was born after Sr. *Thomas Boleyn* return'd from an Embaſſy, to which King *Henry* had ſent him, that he might enjoy his Wife, and in which he ſtaid two years, as *Sanders* ſays; then ſince King *Henry* came to the Crown in the year 1509, ſhe muſt be born in the year 1511, and then the 15th year of her Age will fall in the year 1526, and it being certain that the King began to Court her in the year 1527, here is not time enough for her Leudneſs and her long ſtay in *France*. But it is certain that ſhe was born in the year 1507, two years before King *Henry* came to the Crown, and when he was but fourteen years old, and that at ſeven years old ſhe went over to *France* with King *Henry's* Siſter, when ſhe was Married to *Lewis* the 12th; and tho' upon that King's Death the Queen Dowager of *France* came ſoon after back into *England*, yet *Anne Boleyn* ſtaid ſtill in *France*, and was in the Service of *Claud Francis's* the firſt's Queen, and after her Death the King's Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Alencon* took her into her ſervice and

theſe

theſe two Princeſſes were ſo celebrated for their Vertue, that this alone is enough to ſhew, that ſhe was then under no infamy, ſince ſhe was of their Family. She was alſo Maid of Honour to our Queen *Katherine*, who, even by Mr. *Varillas*'s Character, was of too ſevere a Vertue to admit a common Proſtitute to that degree of honour. So that here is more than enough to diſcredit all thoſe Calumnies.

„ 25. He ſays, tho' there is not Evi-
„ dence enough in the former reports p. 261.
„ yet there is a certain Proof for K.
„ *Henry*'s diſorders with the Elder of the
„ two Siſters, *Mary Boleyn*, ſince in the de-
„ mand, that K. *Henry* made for a Permiſ-
„ ſion to Marry *Anne*, he confeſſed his diſ-
„ orders with her Siſter, and offered to do
„ Pennance for them: and to vouch for
„ this, he cites King *Henry*'s Petition to P.
„ *Clement* the 7th.

Here Mr. *Varillas* ſhews, how little he underſtands the advantages that he has, to maintain his Aſſertions, ſince there is an Authority for this laſt, that has more appearance of Truth in it, than all his other Citations put together, tho' his Ignorance made him incapable of finding it out. For Cardinal *Pool*, in his Book againſt King *Henry*, objects this to him, and this has a fair appearance: whereas the Petition, that he cites, is a Dream of his own, that was never before heard of. But tho' I have ſaid more for the Honour of Cardinal *Pool*, than

than all the Panegericks that have been given him, amount to, yet I am very well assured that if in this Particular he was abused by Reports, to which he gave too easy belief, for as all the original Instructions and Dispatches, that were made upon that Affair, are yet extant, in which there is not one word relating to this Matter: so it is plain, that the affair was never so far advanced, as to demand a Permission for a second Mariage, since that could never be so much a asked, till the first was dissolved, and that not being gained, there was not room made for it. If the King had given such advantages against himself, as to have put such a Confession in a Petition to the Pope, is it to be imagined, that the Popes would not have discovered this in some Authentical manner, and even have put it in the Thundering Bull, that was afterward published against him; for this alone proved his Hypocrisy of pretending Scruples of Conscience at his Marriage beyond Exception; and if the King acted in this matter, without any regard to Conscience, it is unreasonable to represent him as so strictly Conscientious, and that he would have confessed so scandalous a secret, and so to have put himself in the Power of those, of whom he could not be well assured.

p. 263, *&c.* „ 26. He gives us a long account of *Wol-*
„ *sey's* design, to engage the King to
„ marry the Dutchess of *Alencon*. Of the Bishop
„ of *Tark's* being sent over to bring the English
„ Princess

„ Princess into *France*, upon her being con-
„ tracted to the Dauphin. And of *Wolsey's*
„ prevailing with him, to let that Propo-
„ sition fall, and to set on another, for a
„ Mariage between the King of *England* and
„ the Dutchess of *Alençon*. And that the
„ Bp. of *Tarke* was cheated by *Wolsey*; and
„ being in the interests of the Dutchess of *A-*
„ *lençon*, he demanded a publick Audience
„ of the King, in the presence of the Council,
„ in which he employed all his Eloquence to
„ perswade him to divorce his Queen, and to
„ marry the most Christian King's Sister.

In all this matter Mr. *Varillas* is only the Copier of *Sanders*, yet he cannot tell another Man's Lie, without mixing some additions of his own; for the Bp. of *Tarke's* being sent over, to demand the Princess, is one of the fruits of his own Religion. But tho' a Pedant of a Priest, such as *Sanders*, had told so improbable a Story; yet it ill became a Man, that pretends to know Courts, and the Negotiations of Ambassadours, as Mr. *Varillas* does, to assert such improbabilities, as that an Ambassadour sent Express to demand a Princess for his Masters Son, which was the greatest advantage that *France* could have possibly hoped for, should be so far wrought on by the Minister of the Court, to which he was sent, as not only to let all this fall; but to make a new Proposition for the illegitimating of the young Princess, and for offering his master's Sister to King *Henry*, and all this without any Instructions from his

Master,

master, and thereby exposing the Dutchess of *Alencon* to the scorn of being rejected, after she was so publickly offered to the King of *England*, tho' every Body knows, that the first offers of Princesses are made in secret. And after all this, that the Bishop of *Tarbe*, who not only exceeded his Instructions, but acted contrary to them in so important a matter, was neither recalled nor disgraced; but on the contrary he was afterwards promoted to be a Cardinal by the recommendation of the Court of *France*; and he being a Cardinal, and seeing afterwards how he was abused, if we may believe this Fable, is it to be supposed, that he, either out of his own Zeal for the Court of *Rome*, or by the Accusations that naturally such a Proposition, begun by him, must have brought on him, would not have told all this Secret afterwards? In short, as this Relation contains many particulars in it, that are not according to the Forms of our Court, such as his demanding an Audience in the presence of the Council (for it seems, as Mr. *Varillas* sets our Parliaments above our kings, he will make the Privy Council equal to them) so the whole is so contrary to all the Methods of Ambassadours, that this would scarce pass, if it related to the transactions of the Courts of *China*, or *Japan*; but it is so gross an imposition on such as know the methods of the Courts of *Europe*, that Mr. *Varillas* presumed too much on the credulity of his Readers, when he thought that this could

be

be believ'd: and *ſi non è vero, è ben trovato*, is ſo neceſſary a Character for a Man to maintain, that would have his Books ſell well, which I am told is Mr. *Varillas*'s chief Deſign, that he had beſt find out ſome Judge of his Pieces, that has a true Underſtanding, ſince it is plain, that he has not Senſe enough himſelf to make a right Judgment in ſuch matters.

„ 27. He ſays, when Cardinal *Wol-*
„*ſey* went over into *France*, he carri- P. 265.
„ed a Commiſſion to conſult the Uni-
„verſities of *France*, touching the Kings Di-
„vorce; but that the change of Affairs in *Italy*,
„made the King to recal him, who was ſtrange-
„ly ſurprized, when he found that the King
„had no thoughts of Marrying the Dutcheſs of
„*Alencon*, and that he was become ſo much in
„love with *Anne Boleyn*, that he was reſolved to
„Marry her on any Terms.

It is an unfortunate thing for a Man, to have heard too much, and to have read too little of Hiſtory: for as the one gives him much confidence, ſo the other expoſes him to many Errours. Mr. *Varillas* had heard, that King *Henry* had conſulted many Univerſities; but not knowing where to place this, he fancied, that it muſt be the firſt ſtep in the whole Matter. But he knew not, that this was not thought on, till after a Sute of above two Years continuance, in which the King ſaw, how he was deluded by the Court of *Rome*; and upon that, he took the other Method of conſulting the Univerſities. All his Speculations concerning Cardinal *Wolſey*, are

built

built on the common Miſtake, that ſuppoſes him ignorant of the King's intentions for *Anne Boleyn*, the falſehood of which I have ſufficiently demonſtrated.

P. 278. „ 28. He tells us, that Cardinal „ *Wolſey* having once ſeveral Biſhops to „ Dine with them, the King knowing „ of it, went to them after Dinner, and made „ a Writing to be read to them, that ſet forth „ the Reaſons againſt his Marriage: the Bi- „ ſhops did not approve it quite; yet they „ were ſo complying, as to ſay, that if thoſe „ things were true, his Scruples were well „ grounded.

This was too important a thing, not to be made appear probable by ſome of his pretended Vouches, tho' it is moſt certainly falſe; for a Reſolution, ſigned by all the Biſhops of *England*, except *Fiſher*, was produced before the Legates, to ſhew how well the King's Scruple were grounded.

Ibid. „ 29. He ſays, the Privy Councel „ acted more ſteadily, and intended to „ give the King an undeniable Proof of „ his Miſtreſſes Lewdneſs, for Sr. *Thomas Wiat*, „ that had obtained of her the laſt Favours, was „ willing to let the King know it; and ſo be- „ ing of the Privy Councel, he not only own- „ ed the matter to the reſt of that Board, but „ was content to let the King know it; and „ when he found that the King would not be- „ lieve it, he offered to make the King himſelf „ an Eye-witneſs to their Privacies; but tho' „ the

„ the Duke of *Suffolk* made this bold Propoſiti-
„ on to the King, he was ſo far from hearkning
„ to it, that *Wiat* was diſgraced upon it, and
„ by this means the Miſtreſs was covered from
„ ſuch dangerous Diſcoveries for the future.

Such a Story as this might have paſſed from a *Sanders*, that knew the World little, but in earneſt, it ſeems the fits of Mr. *Varillas*'s Religion are ſtrong even to Extaſie, ſince they make him write as extravagantly of humane Affairs, as if he had paſſed his whole Life in a Deſert. A Man that knows what humane Nature is, cannot think that *Wiat* would have either ſo far betrayed Mrs. *Boleyn*, or expoſed himſelf, as to have made ſuch a Diſcovery; it being more natural for a Man, that was aſſured of a young Lady's Favour, to contribute to her Elevation, ſince that muſt have raiſed himſelf, than to contrive her ruin. And King *Henry*, whoſe imperious Temper gave him a particular Diſpoſition to Jealouſie, muſt have been of a different compoſition from all the reſt of Mankind, if he could have rejected a Diſcovery of this Nature. And when the ſecrets of Jealouſies are opened to Princes, it is too groſs, even for a Romance, to make the Diſcoverer to begin with the Councel-Board, and to procure a Deputation from them, to acquaint the King with them. But as *Wiat* does not appear to have been a Privy Councellour, till near the end of King *Henry*'s Reign; ſo it is plain enough, he was never diſgraced, but continued to be ſtill imploied by the King in ſome foreign Embaſſies, to the end of his Life.

„ 30. He

P. 269, & 270. „ 30. He ſays, *Anne Boleyn* endea-
„ voured, tho' in vain, to engage Sr.
„ *Thomas More* to negotiate her Affair,
„ but he being Proof againſt all corruption,
„ *Gardiner*, that was a Canoniſt, was made Se-
„ cretary of State, and was ſent to *Rome* with
„ my Lord *Brian*, who ſcandalized all *Rome* with
„ his lewd behaviour; and had the impudence
„ to aſſure the Pope, that the Queen deſired to
„ be divorced, that ſo ſhe might retire into a
„ Monaſtery. And made other offers of great
„ advantage to the Pope, in caſe he would al-
„ low the Divorce.

Mr. *Varillas* cannot ſay too much in Sr. *Thomas More's* commendation: but ſince he was a Man of ſo much Sincerity, it is certain, that he approved of the Divorce: for in a Letter, that his own Family printed among his other Works, in Queen *Mary's* Reign, he, writing to *Cromwel*, owns, that he had approved of the Divorce, and that he had great hopes of the King's ſucceſs in it, as long as it was proſecuted in the Court of *Rome*, and founded on the defects that were pretended to be in the Bull; and after that, moſt of the Univerſities and of the learned Men of *Europe* had given their Opinions in favour of the Divorce, four years after it firſt moved, he being then Chancellour, went down to the Houſe of Commons and made thoſe Deciſions to be read there, and upon that he deſired the Members of Parliament to report in their Countries, that which they had heard and ſeen, and added theſe very Words, *and then all Men will openly perceive,*

perceive, that the King has not attempted this Matter for his Will and Pleaſure, but only for the diſcharge of his Conſcience. Upon *Wolſey's* Diſgrace, he was made Chancellour, and continued in that high truſt almoſt three years; which is an evident ſign that he did not then oppoſe the Divorce; nor did he grow diſguſted of the Court, till he ſaw that the King was upon the point of breaking with the See of *Rome*. So that he would have liked the Divorce, if the Pope could have been prevailed with to allow it; but he did not approve of the King's procuring it another way. Mr. *Varillas* is no happier in the other parts of this Article: for *Gardiner* was not ſent firſt to *Rome*, to negotiate this matter. *Knight* that was Secretary of State, was firſt imployed; and *Gardiner* was not made Secratary of State, till near the end of this Negotiation: nor was he ever ſent to *Rome* with *Brian*: nor was *Brian* a Lord, but only a Knight; and it was a year after this Sute was firſt begun, before *Brian* was imployed in it; ſo that he could carry no ſuch deluding Meſſage to the Pope, concerning the Queen's deſiring the Divorce, and for this pretenſion of the Queen's deſiring to retire to a Monaſtery, it was never made uſe of by the Engliſh Ambaſſadours. It was on the contrary a notion of the Pope's, who thought, that if that could be put into her Head, it would be the eaſieſt Method of getting out of this uneaſie matter: and therefore he ordered his Legate Cardinal *Campegio* to adviſe the Queen to it. And for the ſcandals of *Brian's* Life, they muſt have been very great, if they gave offence

at

at *Rome* at that time: but as I can not answer much for *Brian*, so I will not trouble my self to vindicate him; but he could not behave himself more indecently at *Rome* then *Campegio* did in *England*, when he came over Legate, who scandalized even the Court with his lewd behaviour.

„ 31. He says, the Pope was sensi- P. 272. „ ble of his Obligations to the King, and „ resolved to do all he could to gratifie him, and so ordered *Cajetan* to examine the „ matter, who did it in his manner after the „ Method of the Schools. And here he gives „ us an abstract of his Book. He laid this down „ for a Maxime, that the High Priest under „ the New Testament had no less Authority, „ than the High Priest had under the Law of „ *Moses*, who had povver to allovv of such Marriages, to good ends and in good Circumstances; and that the end of this Marriage was „ noble; that the Crovvns of *England* and *Spain* „ being united, might send their Fleets to block „ up *Constantinople*. And that by this Marriage, „ as *Italy* vvas to be set at Peace, so King *Henry* „ vvas diverted from Marrying into Families suspect of Heresie: and that therefore the „ Pope could not grant a Dispensation for annulling it. And vvith his usual Confidence he „ cites on the Margent *Cajetan's* Consultation. „ And this, he says, confirmed the Pope in his Resolution, not to grant the Dispensation for breaking the Marriage upon any Terms whatsoever.

I have given such Authentick Demonstrations of the Falsehood of this Particular, that I am sure

ſure the ſtrongeſt Fit of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion cannot reſiſt them. For the Pope, upon the firſt Propoſition, franckly granted the Diſpenſation, and only conſulted vvith ſome Cardinals about the Methods of doing it: and afterwards he ſent over into *England*, and Promiſed, that he vvould do, not only all that he could grant out of that plenitude of Povver, vvith vvhich he vvas veſted in the King's favour. The Pope alſo promiſed a Method, that perhaps vvould have brought the matter to an eaſier iſſue, vvhich vvas, that if the King vvas ſatisfied in his ovvn Conſcience concerning the Divorce, in vvhich he did not think that there vvas a Doctor in the vvhole World, that could judge ſo vvell as himſelf, then he might put avvay his Queen, and Marry another, and then the Pope vvould confirm all. For the crafty Pope thought, it vvould be eaſier for him to confirm it, vvhen it was once done, than to give Authority to do it: and in ſhort, the Pope made the King ſtill believe, that he would do it, till by that means he brought the Emperour to grant him all he deſired. And as for *Cajetan's* opinion, I am now in a Countrey where I cannot find his Works, ſo I cannot be ſo poſitive in this matter; but as far as my Memory ſerves me, *Cajetan* writ nothing with relation to this matter: but only in the body of his School-Divinity, that he had publiſhed long before this Sute began, he had ſet on foot a new Opinion touching the Prohibitions of Marrying in near Degrees, which the Church by a conſtant Tradition had in all Times lookt

on

on as Mortal Laws; whereas he asserted, they were only positive Precepts, that did not bind under the Christian Religion, and by consequence, that there was no Law now against Marriages in those Degrees, but the Law of the Church, with which the Pope might dispense. In all the Books that I have seen, that were writ for the Queen's Cause, *Cajetan's* Authority is brought, as a thing already abroad in the World, and not as a Consultation writ upon this Occasion: and by what I remember of that Cardinal's Life, it is said, that in his reasonings with *Luther* he had found himself so defective in the knowledge of the Scripture, that whereas formerly he had given himself wholly to the Study of School-Divinity, he after that gave himself entirely to the Study of the Scripture, in which, making allowance for his Ignorance of the Original Tongues, he succeeded to admiration. But tho' I cannot procure a Sight of his Treatise concerning the Degrees of Marriage, the Idea that I retain of his solid way of writing, makes me conclude, that he was not capable of writing in so trifling a manner, as Mr. *Varillas* represents the Matter. For what Man of Sense could say, that the High Priest under the Jewish Religion could dispense with a Brother's Marrying his Brother's Widdow, in some cases: in case that a Brother died without Children, his Brother, or the next of Kin, might have Married the Widdow, by the Dispensation that the Law gave, and not by a Dispensation of the High Priest. And for the Ends that he

he pretends of those two Princes, going to block up *Constantinople* with their Fleets, a man must be ignorant in History to the Degree of Mr. *Varillas*, to imagine this, since as the Kings of those Times had no Royal Fleets, but were forced to hire Merchants Vessels, when they had occasion for them; so the blocking up of *Constantinople* was too bold a project for those days and does not seem to have been so much as once thought on. And for the other Ends that he mentions, tho' the procuring such a Peace to *Italy*, as was for the Interest of the Popes, was a thing for which they would have sacrificed any thing; yet this differs much from P. *Julius* the Second's Character, who granted the Dispensation, since his whole Reign was a continued Imbroilment of *Italy*. Nor does it appear that K. *Henry*'s Marriage could have any influence on the Peace of *Italy*, unless it were very remote. And as for the other Reason alledged for the Marriage, that it diverted K. *Henry* from Marrying into Families suspect of Heresy, this is too great a violation of the *Custome*; for it seems Mr. *Varillas* had the present State of *Europe* in his Head, when he writ it: but *Cajetan* could not write this, for in the Year 1503. there were no Families in *Europe* suspect of Heresy: so that all this reasoning, that is here entitled to *Cajetan*, is a mass of Mr. *Varillas*'s crude Imaginations, which do equally discover both his Ignorance, and his want of Judgment.

32. "He

32. "He accuses Mr. *Beaucaire*, for
"saying a thing, that was no way
p. 274. "probable, when he affirms, that Cardi-
"nal *Campegio* carried over to *England*
"a Bull annulling the Marriage, which he
"was allowed to shew both to the King
"and to Cardinal *Wolsey*, but that this was only
"an artifice to procure him the more credit
"for drawing out the Process into a great
"length.

But when a Writer rejects what he finds affirmed by another, that lived in the Time concerning which he writes, he ought at least to give some reasons to justify his being of another mind; since it is a little too bold for any Man, of a temper more modest than that of Mr. *Varillas*, to deny a matrer of fact, meerly because he thinks it is no way probable: but it is not only probable, but evidently true, as I have made it appear beyond all possibility of contradiction: for after that *Campegio* had, according to his Instructions, shewed the Bull, both to the King and to *Wolsey*, great endeavours were used at *Rome* to procure an order for his shewing it to some of the King's Ministers; but the Pope could not be prevailed on so far: and I have printed an Original Letter of *John Castalis*, that contains a long conference that he had with the Pope on this head; by which it appears, that the only consideration that the Pope had before his Eyes in this whole matter, was the Emperour's Greatness, and his Fears of being ruined, if he had

had made any further ſteps in that Affair.

„ 33. He ſays, that the Queen ha- P. 277.
„ ving thrown her ſelf at the King's
„ Feet, and made a very moving Speech,
„ the King was ſo far melted with it, that he
„ ſaid, he vvas contented to refer the mat-
„ ter to be judged by the Pope in Perſon, upon
„ vvhich ſhe vvent out inſtantly, that ſo the
„ King might not have time to recal that, vvhich
„ perhaps he had ſaid a little too ſuddenly: and
„ that ſhe alvvays claimed this Promiſe, tho' the
„ King had no regard to it.

Here is a new Fit of his Religion, for it ſeems *Sanders* felt not thoſe vigorous Motions, that were neceſſary to furniſh out his Scenes: and therefore, tho Mr. *Varillas* adds no Diſcovery as to matters of Fact, beyond what *Sanders* had made, yet he has the more copious Inventions of the two. But he does not place his contrivances judiciouſly, for it is much ſafer to dreſs up the ſecrets of the Cabinet, than publick Courts of Judicature with ſuch garniſhings: and as that was the moſt ſolemn Tryal, that ever *England* ſaw, in which a King and Queen appeared as Delinquents, to be tried for Inceſt, ſo the matter is not only particularly related by thoſe that lived in that Time, or ſoon after it, but the Journals of the Court are yet in being, and by all theſe it appears, that as ſoon as the Queen made that moving Speech, ſhe immediately riſe and went out, without ſtaying for one Word of Anſwer. And in all that long Sute that followed afterwards, for obliging the King

to carry on the Sute at *Rome*, that depended for three years, this offer of the King's, if it had any other being but that vvhich Mr. *Varillas*'s Fiction gives it, vvould have been certainly alledged, for obliging the King to continue the Proceſs at *Rome*; but it vvas never ſo much as mentioned, ſo the Honour of it belongs to Mr. *Varillas*.

Ibid. „ 34. He ſays, that in the Proceſs, „as the King's Advocates produced a „Letter, that Cardinal *Hadrian* „ vvrit at the time of granting the Bull for the „ had Marriage, that he had heard P. *Julius* the ſe- „cond ſay, that he could not grant it, the „ Queens's Advocates produced likevviſe a Let- „ter of Pope *Julius* to the King of *England*, that „ aſſured him, that tho' he had not granted the „ Bull as ſoon as it vvas demanded, that vvas „ not out of any intention to refuſe it; but „ that he had only vvaited for a favourable con- „ juncture, that ſo he might do it the more „ deliberatly.

This is of no conſequence; but ſome Men get into ill Habits, that engage them, even vvhen there is no advantage to tell Lies. The vvhole Journals of this Sute mention neither the one nor the other of theſe matters: there is ſomevvhat like the ſecond, of vvhich ſome, it ſeems, had in diſcourſe given Mr. *Varillas* a dark Hint, and he reſolved to garniſh it up the beſt he could. There vvas a Breve of P. *Julius*'s produced, but not vvrit to the King of *England*, for it vvas addreſſed to the Kings of *Spain*, and vvas

was indeed believed to be forged in *Spain*. It was conceived in the very Words of the Bull for the Marriage, and was of the ſame date, and the only difference between it and the Bull was, that whereas the Bull mentioned the Queen's Marriage with P. *Arthur*, as having been perhaps conſummated, this ſpoke of the Conſummation of that Marriage leſs doubtfully, and without a *perhaps*: and the inference that was made upon this, was, that the *Spaniards* foreſeeing that the Conſummation of P. *Arthur's* Marriage would be proved, had forged this Breve, to make it appear, that the Pope was informed of that as of a thing certain, tho' it was decent in the publick Bull to mention it doubtfully. But Mr. *Varillas* ſhews how dangerous a thing it was to write Hiſtory upon flying Reports, helped up a little with the dull Invention of an ill Poet.

„ 35. He runs out into a high Com-
„ mendation of the Zeal and Fidelity P. 278.
„ that ſome of the Engliſh Biſhops,
„ who were named to be the Queen's Advocates,
„ ſhewed in pleading her Cauſe.

But in this he ſhews, how little he underſtands the common forms of Law: for ſince the Queen declined the Court, and appealed to the Pope, there was no more occaſion given to her Advocates, to ſpeak to the merits of her Cauſe. And whereas he pretends, that this was done, not only by Biſhop *Fiſher*, but by the Biſhops of *London*, *Bath* and *Ely*, that was impoſſible, ſince all the Biſhops had ſigned a Writing, which was

produced before the Legates, in vvhich they all declared themſelves againſt the Lavvfulneſs of the Marriage.

„ 36. He ſays, the Pope recalled the Cauſe, „ to be heard before himſelf, on this Pretence, „ that the King had by Word of Mouth con- „ ſented to it.

This is a ſlight of our Authors, to colour that ſhameful ſecret: for vvhen the Emperour had agreed to put *Florence* into the hands of the *Medici*, the Pope vvho had ſeemed to favour the King's Cauſe till that time, did then admit of the Queen's Appeal: and tho' he had ſigned a formal Promiſe, never to recal the Cauſe, yet he being as little a Slave to his Word, as Mr. *Varillas* is to Truth, broke his faith. But he never ſo much as once pretended this Conſent of the King's.

Ibid. „ 37. He ſays, *Wolſey* being diſgra- „ ced, vvas ſent to *York*, vvhere he „ languiſhed ſome time, being reduced „ almoſt to Beggary.

This comes in as a daſh of his Pen, to ſet out King *Henry's* Severity: but one of *Wolſey's* Domeſticks, that vvrit his Life, tells us, in hovv great State he vvent to *York*, vvith a Train of 160 Horſe, and in an Equipage of 72 Carts followving him vvith his Houſhold-ſtuff; for the King reſtored him not only his Arch-Biſhoprick of *York*, but alſo his Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, vvhich Mr. *Varillas* fancies he took from him: and it vvas impoſſible for a Man, that had thoſe tvvo great Benefices, to be reduced to any degrees of Want. „ 38. He

„ 38. He ſays; *Anne Boleyn* rai-
„ ſed *Cranmer* to the Dignity of chief P. 281.
„ Miniſter of State, who was one
„ of the profligateſt Men of *England*, that had
„ nothing of Chriſtianity in him, but the out-
„ ward appearances, being ambitious, vo-
„ luptuous, bold, turbulent and capable of
„ all ſorts of Intrigues. He had ſtudied
„ long in *Germany*, where he was infected
„ with Lutheraniſme, tho' he did not out-
„ wardly profeſs it. He took a Concubine
„ in *Germany*, whom he afterwards Married
„ by the King's permiſſion. He had been
„ Chaplain long in the Family of *Boleyn*, ſo
„ when the See of *Canterbury* fell vacant,
„ *Anne Boleyn* preſented him.

The Fit here is extream hot and long, and ſhews, how entirely Mr. *Varillas* was ſubdued by it, ſince it is hardly poſſible for a Man to ſpit out more Venom and Falſehood at once. *Cranmer* was never in the Affairs of State, much leſs chief Miniſter. And any Ignorance leſs than Mr. *Varillas's* would have found, that *Cromwel* ſucceeded *Wolſey* in the Miniſtery. As for *Cranmers* Ambition, as he had paſſed the greateſt part of his Life in a ſecret Retirement, ſo he was in *Germany* when the See of *Canterbury* fell vacant, and when he underſtood that the King intended to raiſe him to that Dignity, he excuſed himſelf all he could, and delayed his Return to *England* ſome Months, that ſo the King might have time given him

to change his Mind. He was so far from being turbulent and hardy, and from being a Man of Intrigues, that his plain Simplicity made him to be despised by his Enemies, till they found that there was a wise Conduct under all that Mildness and Slowness. And it was this simplicity, and his keeping himself out of all Intrigues, that preserved him in King *Henry's* esteem. He never went to study in *Germany*, but was sent into *Italy* and *Germany* to reason with the learned Men in the Universities concerning the King's Divorce. He married a Wife in *Germany*, and was so far from obtaining the King's Permission to Marry her, that upon a severe Law, that was afterwards made against the Marriage of the Clergy, he sent her into *Germany* for some time, yet he frankly owned his Marriage to the King, when he questioned him upon it, and there was never the least imputation laid upon his Chastity, except this of his Marriage, which we think none at all. He was never Chaplain in the *Boleyn* Family, but lived private in *Cambridge*, when the King came to hear of him, and to imploy him in the prosecution of the Divorce. And so far was he from being presented by *Anne Boleyn*, upon the Vacancy of *Canterbury*, that he was then in *Germany*. And now it appears what a secret Mr. *Varillas* has, of making as much Falsehood go into one Period, as would serve another to scatter up and

and down a whole Book; but we know the Society that has this secret, and it is certain, that Mr. *Varillas* has learnt it to perfection.

„ 39. He says, the King accept- „ ed *Cranmer* upon condition, that „ he would pronounce the Sentence „ of Divorce between their Majesties of *Eng-* „ *land*, in case that the Pope ratified their „ contested Marriage: and thus by a way „ so uncanonical he was made Archbishop of „ *Canterbury*. Ibid.

There was no occasion of demanding any such Promise of *Cranmer*, for he had openly declared his opinion, that the Marriage was incestuous and unlawful, so that his Judgment was already known. But Mr. *Varillas* shews how little he knew our matters, when he says, that *Cranmer* was made Archbishop in an uncanonical way; for as he was chosen by the Chapter of *Canterbury*, so he had his Bull from *Rome*, and how little soever, this is Canonical according to the Canons of the Ancient Church, yet Mr. *Varillas* has no reason to except to the Uncanonicalness of it.

„ 40. He says, he was installed by „ another Artifice, for being requi- „ red to swear the Oath to the Pope, „ he had a Notary by him, who attested, that „ took his Oath against his Will, and that he „ he would not keep it to the prejudice of „ the King. Ibid.

He made no Proteſtation, that he took that Oath againſt his Will; but he repeated a Proteſtation twice at the high Altar, that he intended not by that Oath to the Pope, to oblige himſelf to any thing that was contrary to the Law of God, to the King's Prerogative, or to the Laws of the Land, nor to be reſtrained by it from proposing or conſenting to any thing, that might concern the Reformation of the Chriſtian Faith, the Government of the Church of *England*, or the Prerogatives of the King and Kingdom. This is a different thing from proteſting, that he took the Oath againſt his Will, which as it had been ridiculous in it ſelf, ſo was very far contrary to that native Singleneſs of Heart, in which he always acted.

P. 282. „ 41. He ſays, there was an ancient Law againſt the Subjects of „ *England's* acknowledging a foreign Juriſdiction, upon which the King „ raiſed a Sute againſt his Clergy, for owning the Pope's Juriſdiction, in that which was „ a mixt Court, relating both to the Temporal and the Spiritual. And he adds, „ that the Clergy had an eaſie Anſwer to „ this Charge, ſince that Law had no regard „ to the Spiritual Authority.

Matters of Law are things of too delicate a Nature for ſo ſlight a Man as Mr. *Varillas* to look into them. He repreſents this as one ſingle Law, that was very old, and that

hat related only to Temporals, whereas if he had known any thing of our Laws, he would have seen, that there was a vast number of Laws made in the Reigns of many of our Kings, such as *Edward* the first, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the second, *Henry* the 4th, and *Henry* the 5th, all relating to this Matter, and these Laws were made in express Words against all that brought Bulls and Provisions from *Rome* to Ecclesiastical Benefices.

„ 42. He says, the motions of
„ the Clergy in their own de- Ibid.
„ fence, could not but be feeble,
„ since they had two such treacherous heads,
„ as *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and
„ *Lee* Archbishop of *York*, so they made a
„ Submission to the King, but he would
„ not receive it, unless they would acknow-
„ ledg, that he had the same Authority o-
„ ver the Ecclesiastical Body, that he had
„ over his other Subjects, and thus without
„ thinking on what they did, they furnish-
„ ed the King with a pretence of calling
„ himself Head of the Church of *Eng-*
„ *land*.

Cranmer was so little concerned in this matter, that it was past two Years before he was Archbishop, while *Warham* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*; for the Submission was made in *March* 1531, and he was consecrated in *March* 1533. And *Lee* of *York* was so far from consenting to it, that he strugled long against it, after *Warham*

and his Synod had past it. And whereas he pretends, that the King drew his Pretence, to be Head of the Church of *England* from a general acknowledgment that they had made of the King's Authority over Churchmen, this is so far from true, that the whole Clergy, even his admired *Fisher* not excepted, did in the Title of the Submission, to which they all set their Hands, call the King in so many formal Words, supream Head of the Church, and Clergy of *England*, in so far as was agreeable to the Law of Christ: and this was done during *More's* Ministry, who continued Chancellor 15 Months after this.

P. 283. „ 43. He says, that upon *More's* „ laying down his Office, the „ King gave the Seals to another „ Churchman, that was no less devoted to „ him than *Cranmer*, whose name was „ *Audley*, on whom he bestows a Cha- „ racter, though he knows nothing con- „ cerning him.

Audley was no Churchman, but a common Lawyer, as *More* was, that had been Chancellour before him, and the Gentlemen of that Robe being raised upon merit, and not by their Birth, his low Extraction was no extraordinary matter.

Ibid. „ 44. He says, the King finding „ that the Pope was afraid, that he „ should contract a Secret Mariage „ with *Anne Boleyn*, resolved to do it, on de- „ sign to do the Pope a Spite; so the Day „ being

„ being set, one *Rolland* a Priest, being ap-
„ pointed to do the Office, demanded the
„ Pope's Bull for the Mariage, which he was
„ made believe that the King had procured;
„ but the King swore to him, that he had
„ it in his Closet, and that nothing made
„ him not go immediately to fetch it, but
„ his unwillingness to retard that Action.

This is so ill told, that Mr. *Varillas* ought to have imployed a little of his Religious Zeal, to make it more plausible. for it was then so well understood, that the Pope was entirely united to the Emperour, that *Rolland Lee* could not imagine there was any Bull granted; and he was all his Life of too complying a Temper, to need such Artifices to oblige him to do any thing that might serve to advance him. Mr. *Varillas* represents the King here too much like a private Gentleman, that keeps his Papers in his own Closet, and that must go fetch them upon occasion, which was so far from K. *Henry*'s Temper, that our Poet neglected the *Costome* too much, in presenting him in such a Manner. Only it was thought fit to make the King begin his Marriage with a false Oath. And tho' not only Truth but Decency was Sacrificed to that, this was too small a matter to create any Trouble to such a Man as Mr. *Varillas*: and his making the King to Mary, *Anne Boleyn*, only to do a Spite to the Pope, is of a piece with the rest. But this being the Conclusion of an Amour of a seven Years continuance; a

Poet should have given it a more amorous turn.

P. 284. „ 45. But to let us see, that his „ Character of Poet has not quite „ abandoned him, he brings in A- „ mour in Jealousy, and tells us, that the „ Jealousy of the two Sisters was the true „ cause of it; for the Elder envying the „ Fortune of the Younger, began to publish „ the Privacies that had been between the „ King and her, upon which the younger, „ to take her turn of Revenge, was con- „ tented to be Married to the King secretly, „ upon his promising to publish it within two „ Months.

But the Fictions as well as the Verses of old Men, when they enter upon amorous matters, taste of their Age: for it is a pleasant thing to see our Poet fancy that it was Revenge that determined a young Gentlewoman to be content to be a Queen, one would think that other Considerations without this, were strong enough to make a Crown appear a lovely thing to her. As for her eldest Sister *Mary's* Indiscretion, and Jealousy, our Author has the honour to be the Inventer of it: for I do not find it in any other Writer, and therefore I do him all the Justice he can desire, in confessing this to be the Product of his own Fancy. But his imagining that the King would not lose this favourable Moment, least the attractives of a Crown should have been less operative, if Spite did not concur

to

to quicken them, is a thought too little worthy of a Man that pretends to have observed humane Nature so exactly.

„ 46. He says, upon this *Cranmer* with some Judges, that were corrupted, were sent to *Dunstable*, to put an end to the process of the Divorce, and tho' the Queen refused to acknowledg them, yet they dissolved the Marriage. Ibid.

There was no occasion to corrupt Judges in this Matter, nor were there any Judges imployed in it: a great many Bishops went along with *Cranmer*, and concurred in the Judgment with him, tho' the Sentence was past in his Name. It was made appear, that it had been the constant Doctrine of the Church, that the Prohibitions of the Degrees of Marriage in the Law of *Moses*, were moral Precepts, which did oblige Christians. This was proved by the Decrees of several Popes, the Canons of many Synods and Councils, and by the concurring Testimonies of almost all the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers both Ancient and Modern, and by the agreeing Doctrines both of Schoolmen, Canonists, and Casuists; and if Tradition was the true Expounder of Scripture, and the sure conveyance of Doctrine, the Marriage was certainly incestuous; so that according to the fundamental Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Marriage was unlawful: and by the same Authorities it was also proved, that the Pope's Dispensation could not

make

make void the Law of God, and that the Clergy of *England* were the proper Judges of what fell out in *England*. This being the State of that Matter, and almost all the Universities of *Europe*, that of *Bologna* it self not excepted, tho' it was the Pope's own Town, having declared in the King's Favour, it was no wonder, if *Cranmer*, upon such Grounds, proceeded to give Sentence.

P. 286. „ 47. He dresses up a Speech „ for Card. *Bellay*, all out of his „ own fancy; but one thing is re- „ markable; he makes the Cardinal repre- „ sent to the King, that if he went to sepa- „ rate himself from the Communion of „ the Church of *Rome*, either he would „ succeed in it, or not; if he succeeded „ in it, besides that he put himself in a „ state of Damnation, there would be no „ place found that would be safe for his sa- „ cred Person, against the attempts of zea- „ lous Catholicks, who would endeavour „ to Kill him, that they might preserve their „ ancient Religion; and if he succeeded not, „ he might be assured, that he would lose „ both his Crown, and his Life in a general „ Revolt.

Mr. *Varillas* is now in a Fit of Religion of another sort, for as there are hot and cold Fits of Agues, so if some of his Fits make him forget the Obligations of speaking Truth, this makes him speak out a truth indeed, but of that Nature, that if he had been long practised in the Secrets of the Court

of

of *Rome*, or of the Jesuite Order, he would have known, that tho' during the Minority of a King, a Cardinal *Peron* might speak it boldly, or during the Confusions of a Civil War, the whole *Sorbonne* might declare in Favour of it, yet under such a Reign, and in the present Conjuncture, it was to be denied boldly. And one would not have thought, that at this time a *Clement* or a *Ravilliac* would have had no worse Character, but that of zealous Catholicks. So we have now an entire notion of a zealous Catholick from Mr. *Varillas*: he does not trouble himself to examine what he says, whether it is true or false, nor will he stick at any Crime, if it may tend to preserve his Religion. And if a Prince goes about to change his Religion, and to depart from the Communion of the See of *Rome*, he must at first look for a general Revolt, which must end in his Deprivation and Death, and if that fails, there is a reserve of zealous Catholicks, who will persue him into every corner, ad never give over, till they have Sacrificed him to the Interest of their Religion. This is the severest thing that the greatest Enemy to their Church could possibly object to it; and yet Mr. *Varillas* has so little judgment, as to put it in the Mouth of a Cardinal. But it is but lately that he has got his Pension, and he has not past a long Noviciat, or perhaps he is now too old to learn the resayings, that his Pattern Mr. *Maimbourg* would have taught him, who

in

in such a Reign as this is in *France*, must dress up their Religion as a Doctrine, all made up of Obedience and Submission. But perhaps some had told Mr. *Varillas*, that the late Articles of the Clergy lookt like the beginning of a Separation from the Court of *Rome*, so that he thought, it was fit to let the King know his Danger, if he went a step further, either in that Matter, or in a Reformation of Religion, of which there has been so much noise made lately in *France*, tho' it is visible that this has been set on foot, meerly to deceive those, that had a mind to cozen themselves by the hopes of some Amendments, to make Shipwrack of their Faith and of a good Conscience.

P. 287. „ 48. He makes the Hopes, that the „ Cardinal *Bellay* had of succeeding in „ his Negotiation, to be chiefly founded „ on the King's being weary of *Anne Boleyn*, and „ his becoming in love with *Jane Seimour*; and „ that therefore he concluded that time, and a „ little Patience might infallibly dispose him to „ return back again to Queen *Katherine*.

He makes here strange Discoveries in the matters of Love, since he fancies, that the King's falling in love with a new Mistress, might dispose him to return to his old and abandoned Queen. The thing is also so falsely timed, that it was two years and almost a half after this, before there appeared any beginnings, either of the Kings displeasure of *Anne Boleyn*, or of his Love to *Jane Seimour*. But the true account of this last Negotiation of the Card. *de Bellay* is that at *Marseilles*: The Pope had promised to *Francis* the

the firſt, that if K. *Henry* would ſubmit the matter to him, and ſend a Proxy to *Rome*, he would judg in his favour againſt the Queen, becauſe he knew that his cauſe was juſt and good; and the Cardinal was ſent over to induce the King to make his Submiſſion; but the King would not upon verbal Promiſes make ſo great a ſtep, yet he promiſed, that if Aſſurances were ſent him, that were formal and binding, he would upon that ſend a Submiſſion in full form to *Rome*, and when the Cardinal procured theſe from the Court of *Rome*, the King did ſend over the Submiſſion. So that Mr. *Varillas* having ſuppreſt the true Account of this Negotiation, he thought he muſt make it up with ſomewhat of his own Invention: and as all Liquors drawn out of a muſty Barrel taſte of the Cask; ſo there are ſo many Characters that belong to Mr *Varillas's* imagination, that it is heard for him to venture on inventing, without diſcovering that he has full as little Judgment as he has Sincerity.

"49. He lays the blame of the "ſlowneſs of the Courier, on the "Care that the Emperor's Miniſters "had taken, to ſtop the Paſſages. Ibid.

But this was a ridiculous obſervation; for there being a day ſet for the Courier's Return, he hapned only to come two Days after his time, and it being in the Winter, in which the Sea was to be twice paſt, there is no need to run to any other ſpeculation for a ſlowneſs of two Days in ſuch a Voyage, and at ſuch a Sea-

ſon

ſon; but it is often obſerved of thoſe, that have contracted ill habits, as lying in particular, that their naughty *cuſtoms* return upon them, even when there is no provocation lying on them to tempt them to them; ſo Mr. *Varillas* has given himſelf ſuch a liberty, to interweave his own Fancies with all the Tranſactions that he relates, that he cannot let the ſlighteſt thing paſs without bringing in a ſtroak of his Politicks to adorn it.

"50. He ſays, the Pope having
p. 288. "paſt Sentence againſt the King,
"the King did upon that hold a Par-
"liament on the 24 of *April*, 1534, in which
"he made himſelf to be acknowledged ſupream
"Head of the Churches of *England* and *Ire-*
"*land*; and got his former Marriage to
"be condemned, and his ſecond to be con-
"firmed; upon which Q. *Katherine* died of
"Grief.

In ſuch publick things Mr. *Varillas* ſhould be wiſer than to venture on the giving of Dates, for it is at leaſt two to one that he gives them wrong. The Parliament, that paſt all theſe Laws, ſate down on the 15th of *January*, and was prorogued on the 29th of *March*, and Sentence was given againſt the King at *Rome* the 23 of *March*: for the truth is, the King did not expect ſincere dealing from the Court of *Rome*, and therefore he looking on this laſt Propoſition as a Deluſion, to divert him from paſſing the Acts, that he had pro-

jected

jected for this Session, resolved to go on with his Design, knowing that if the Pope would grant him that which he desired, it would not be uneasy for him to get those acts repealed. Q. *Katherine* lived two years after this; so that, tho' the Melancholy, which this gave her, did very likely shorten her Days, yet it was too Poetical, to make her just to dye at the end of that Parliament.

"51. He says, that the King upon
"the first Informations of *Anne Boleyn's* P. 289.
"Disorders, would not believe them;
"but at last he found such Proofs, as fully
"convinced him, upon which he waited,
"till he found a fit opportunity, to let his
"Jealousy break out.

It agrees ill with what he had said before, that K. *Henry* was become weary of *Anne Boleyn*, to make him now so uneasy to believe ill of her; for nothing disposes so much to Jealousy, as a Dislike already conceived, which naturally inclines one to think ill of a Person whom he does not love; but it is certain K. *Henry* never pretended, that he saw any thing, that was dishonourable in her: and the ridiculous Tale of the Tilling at *Greenwich* was a ly too ill contrived, to be again taken up; for the Queen's dropping a Handkerchief, was a favour of too publick a nature, and is not at all credible, considering that she found the King's affections were straying from her. And even that was too slight a matter, to have wrought her ruine, tho' it had been true.

„52 He

"52. He says, her own Father
P. 250. "was one of her Judges, but tho' she
"made a cunning Defence, yet she
"was condemned together with four of her
"Adulterers, and after that she went to meet
"Death, with more of fierceness, than of a
"true greatness of Soul, and she died as exactly in
"all the Maxims of the Stoical Philosophy, as
"if she had studied them.

This assertion of her Father's being one of her Judges, has past so current, that I have no reason to charge Mr. *Varillas* for it, because I my self yield to the current of Writers; yet having procured a sight of the Original Record of her Process, I found it was a falsehood, and in the end of my first Volume I had corrected the Errour in which I had fallen: so I must at least conclude, that Mr. *Varillas* never read any History. The Queen had a strange Plea, for there was not one Witness brought against her, so that she was condemned meerly upon Testimonies that were brought in writing, which is expresly contrary to our Law. As for her Behaviour at her Death, it was far from being Stoical, for it was rather too cheerful; and the Lieutenant of the Tower, who knew her Behaviour better than any Person whatsoever gives a very different representation of it, for in his Letter to the Court he tells of her great Devotion, of her cheerfulness and of the protestations that she made of her Innocence the Morning before she died; when she received the Sacrament, adding, that her

her Almoner was ſtill with her, and had been with her ever ſince two a clock after Midnight. And he alſo ſays, that ſhe had much Joy and Pleaſure in her Death. And as all this is very far from the Maximes of the Stoical Philoſophy, ſo it ſeems Mr. *Varillas* underſtands very little what they were, otherwiſe, if he had remembred what a picture he had made of *Anne Boleyn*, he muſt have known, that the amorous diſpoſition that he had faſtned on her, agreed very ill with a Stoical Unconcernedneſs and equality of Temper. But this he thought was a pretty concluſion of one of the Scenes of his Piece.

And now being as weary of this ungrateful Imployment, as any Reader, or as even Mr. *Varillas* himſelf muſt needs be, I find my ſelf at great eaſe, being no more obliged to turn over ſo very ill a Book. And ſince in the Survey of one of the ſhorteſt of the ten Books, of which that Work conſiſts, I have found ſo many capital Errours, in moſt of which there is a complication of divers Miſtakes in the ſame Period; to how much publick ſhame muſt Mr. *Varillas* be expoſed, if thoſe who are concerned, examine the other Books, as I have done this. I expect no other Juſtice from himſelf, but that he will reckon all this ſcorn, that ſuch a Diſcovery muſt bring upon him, as a meritorious Suffering at the hands of Hereticks, and that he will uſe it as an Argument to raiſe his Penſion. But it will be a great happineſs if others can learn, tho' at his coſt, to write with more Truth and greater Caution.

The

The design of all revealed Religion is, to heighten, in us those Seeds of Probity, Vertue and Gentleness, that are in our Nature, and I will not stick to say that it were better for Mankind, that there were no revealed Religion at all in being, and that humane Nature should be left to it self, than that there were such a sort of a revealed Religion received, that overthrows all the Principles of Morality, and that instead of making men sincere, teaches them to be false, and instead of inspiring them with Love and Mercy, inflames them with Rage and Cruelty, and it is likely, that Mr. *Varillas* will easily find out, what that Society is, which I mean. For he deserves well to be at least one of the Lay-Brothers of the Order, if not to fill up Mr. *Maimbourg*'s room, and then the Order will not lose by the change much of a quality, that has been believed to be almost an essential ingredient in its Constitution, which gave occasion to a very pleasant Passage, that, as I was told, fell out at *Amiens* within these 20 years.

All the Companies of Tradesmen in the Church of *Rome* choose a Saint for their Patron, and the many new invented Trades have put some Bishops to hard shifts to give proper Saints, which has produced some very ridiculous Patronages, for the Cooks have the Assumption, for their Feast, because the two first Syllables *Assum* signifies roasted; and when the Needle-makers at *Paris* asked of the Cardinal *Gondy* a Patron, he could not easily find out a Saint that had any relation to their Trade, but he advised them to take All-Saints, for it could not be thought, but that some one or other of the Saints had made Needles; but the Bishop of *Amiens* gave *Ignatius Loyola* to be the Patron of the Packers, now the Word *emballeur*, as it signifies a Packer, it passes also for a Trapan; so the Packers being satisfied with the Bishop's nomination, had *Ignatius* upon his Day in a Procession, upon which the Jesuits were offended, to see their Patron pretended to by such a Company of Mechanicks, and sued the Packers upon it, they defended themselves upon the account of their Bishop's naming him to them, and when the Bishop was asked why he had given him for

their

their Patron, he alluding to the other ſignification of the Word *emballeur* ſaid, that he had obſerved that all the *emballeurs* of *Europe* were under that Saint's Patronage. But it is not neceſſary to infer from hence, that Mr. *Varillas* has a juſt claim to his protection, for tho' he ſeems to have very good inclinations, yet he wants the addreſs that is neceſſary to recommend him to ſo refined a Society, and to a perfection in it, that coſt Mr. *Maimbourg* a whole Jubily for a Novitiate; for tho' ſeven years is enough to learn an ordinary Trade, yet fifty is neceſſary to furniſh a man with a ſufficient ſtock of Impudence for ſo hardy an Imployment.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I Have at laſt found Card. *Cajetan's* Works, and am now confirmed in that, which was only a Conjecture, when I writ upon the 31ſt. Article, p. 141. for it is hard even to gueſs wrong, when it is in Contradiction to Mr. *Varillas*; and as the Reaſons that he put in *Cajetan's* Mouth, had ſuch manifeſt Characters of his own ignorance and hardineſs, that I could not ſo much as doubt of the Impoſture, yet I was not poſitive, till I had taken ſome Pains to find out *Cajetan's* Works, and there I ſaw my Conjectures were well grounded. That Volume in which he delivers his Opinion in the matter of the Obligation of the Levitical Law concerning the degrees of Mariage, was writ long before this diſpute of K. *Henry's* was ſtarted; for it is dedicated to Pope *Leo* the tenth. And inſtead of all thoſe Impertinencies, with which Mr. *Varillas* calumniates him, and of which none leſs ignorant than himſelf, is capable, all that *Cajetan* ſays is that whereas *Thomas Aquinas* was of opinion, that thoſe degrees were Moral, and of eternal obligation, he in his Commentary declares himſelf of another Mind, but takes a very backward Method to prove it, yet ſuch as was ſuitable enough to the blindneſs of the time in which he writ; for he proves that they are not Moral, only becauſe the Pope diſpenced with them, who could not diſpence with the Moral Law, and he gives

2da 2dæ quæſt. 154. Art. 9.

for

Moderna quoque Regina Angliæ consummaverat prius matrimonium cum olim fratre ipsius Regis Angliæ mariti

for instance the Marriage of the Kings of *Portugal*; to which he adds these Words, *The present Queen of* England *had likewise consummated her former Marriage with the late Brother of the King of* England *her Husband.* So that *Cajetan* was only driven to this opinion, that he might justify the Practises of the Court of *Rome*. And it appears by what he says concerning it, that it was considered at *Rome* as an undoubted Truth, that the Queens first Marriage with Prince *Arthur* was consummated: and so it is sufficiently apparent how impudent Mr. *Varillas* is in the Abstract, that he charges on Cardinal *Cajetan's* Memory; it was far from his way of reasoning, to talk of Fleets blocking up *Constantinople*: but Mr. *Varillas*, who knows little of the past Time, and fancies that matters went formerly as they go now, had perhaps the low Estate in which the Ottoman Empire is at present, or the Bombarding of *Genoa* in his Eye, when he thought of the sending Fleets against *Constantinople* above 180 Years ago, but this speculation was as much out of *Cajetan's* way, as it is suitable to Mr. *Varillas*.

Page 158. He says, K, *Henry* the Eighth had opposed the Marriage of his Sister to the King of *Scotland*, with so much violence, that it brought on him several Fits of an Ague. But that Marriage being made in *August* 1502, the young Prince was not then eleven years old, and this is too early even for a Poet to make matters of State to have gone so deep into his thoughts, as that they endangered his Health. But as the Legends of Saints represent them in Extasies, before they have past their Childhood, so Mr. *Varillas* thought it suitable to the rest of his Poem, to represent K. *Henry* even in his Infancy as transported with the violence of impetuous Passions. But I am afraid I lay too much to his charge, since I do not believe that he had examined the history of his Life so critically, as to know even his Age; but it is a sad thing for an ignorant Man not to have a Chronological Table always before him.

FINIS.

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